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4 DECEMBER 1986

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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4 DECEMBER 1986

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RESPECT OF OTHERS IN IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK DISCUSSED

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "To Exert Influence on Others Requires Respect for Others; Some Views on Improving and Strengthening Ideological-Political Work"]

[Text] As developments have taken place over the years and society has progressed, the improvement and strengthening of ideological-political work has already been placed on the order of the day. It is improvements that are required to make strengthening possible. How to improve? The positive and negative experiences of the past 30-odd years of ideological-political work have taught us that it is necessary, first of all, to respect man. Ideological-political work is work concerned with man, and respect for man is essentially inherent in this matter.

Respect for man is a fundamental principle that must be observed in ideological-political work. However, because of the pernicious influence of a feudal despotism lasting for several thousand years, and then especially also during the 10 years of calamity, the principles that are now frequently made key guidelines of conduct are that there has to be "mortal combat between you and me," and that "a man who is down be given another kick," which means creating extreme strains and distortions in human relations, completely discarding the excellent traditions of ideological-political work of the past and ruining the very reputation of all ideological-political work. Today, a reform is being launched on various planes and in various locations, and the need arises to earnestly emphasize that in all work concerning man it is necessary to respect man.

Respect for man requires, first of all, respect for the dignity of man, to respect the masses in their position as masters and to respect the fundamental rights of democracy, freedom, and equality. This demands of us, when we engage in ideological-political work, that we treat people as equal and use methods of democratic consultation in resolving ideological problems. Because of the fact that feudal and similar concepts have become deeply rooted in China's social life, to which must be added the fact that a highly centralized administrative system has been practiced for a long time, great obstacles have been created for an equal treatment of all men. Even though we have by now given up "taking class struggle as the key link," and even if ideological-

political work is by now occupying a commanding position, the old concepts and old methods of dominating people by sheer power, of "I play the card and you have to follow," or of "I instruct and you have to listen," or of "I talk and you must obey," are still very much prevalent. Occasionally, even cases of insults to human dignity and infringements of human rights still occur. Such acts cause people to be filled with fear when coming in contact with ideological-political work. The masses have no cordial feelings for this work, and it is, therefore, hardly possible for it to achieve the anticipated results. The experiences of innumerable workers engaged in ideological-political work tell us that it is only by above all respecting the dignity of the masses, respecting the position of the masses as masters, and respecting the rights of democracy, freedom, and equality that we can gain the respect and trust of the masses and that we are only then justified to speak of fruitful possibilities for our work. If there is not, first of all, this respect for the masses, the masses will naturally show no trust. Even preaching the most profound sermons will at most truly amount to nothing but empty words that will produce no effect among the masses. More importantly, it is the training of a new generation that shall be full of self-esteem, have a high sense of pride in being masters, and cherish the rights of democracy, freedom, and equality, that is to be precisely the goal that we who do ideological-political work are intent on attaining. Why could we possibly, contrary to this goal, deny our support to the masses in achieving their rational demands?

Respecting man comprises understanding and respecting the desires and feelings of the individual and showing concern for man's joys, anger, sorrow, and happiness. Each person is a person with individuality. Marx once pointed out: "The free development of each individual is the precondition for the free development of all mankind." To ignore the demands of the individual, to deny individuality, and demand that all conform to one pattern is an attitude to be most feared in ideological-political work. Some comrades may possibly believe that the demand of one individual carries no weight, and that we rather need collectivism. This is a lopsided view. We are opposed to the supremacy of the individual and oppose extreme individualism. However, we equally oppose denying individual rights and individuality on the pretext of collectivism. We profess respect for the desires of the individual, and what we demand is the correct handling of the relationships between individual and society, and between one individual and the others. What we want is to realize the integration of individual interests with the common interests, the integration of the interests of one individual with those of all other individuals. We demand the correct handling of individual rights and aspirations within the framework of socialism. Of course, not all demands and aspirations of individuals are rational and legitimate. In this respect we must be adept at analyzing and distinguishing. In the case of irrational and illegitimate ones, we must carry out guidance and education, but rational and legitimate ones we must respect and fulfill. In our ideological-political work we must learn to respect and fulfill the legitimate demands of each individual for self-development and self-perfection.

Respecting man requires that we must fully affirm the value of man. The establishment of socialism opens up roads to the fullest self-fulfillment for each individual. However, since we inappropriately denied and belittled the

value of man, rejected and denied "self-struggle," for a considerable length of time, people could not attain the fullest realization of their potential. Today, as we strengthen ideological-political work, the important point is that we affirm and respect the value of man, and, furthermore, exert efforts to assist and guide people to better realize their own potential, allowing each individual at his particular post to fully display his abilities, find his own niche, and fully realize his own potential. In this way, we shall also be able to attain the greatest vitality in ideological-political work.

Building a highly civilized and prosperous socialist country is our lofty goal. If we stress that ideological-political work must respect man, it must also unite a larger number of people to join in the pursuit of this great undertaking. It must be pointed out that with this objective before us, everything that is beneficial to the accomplishment of the four modernizations, beneficial for the state, for the nation, for society, and for an enhanced mentality and spirit among the masses, and any ideology and every spirit directed toward gaining a happy life through diligent and conscientious efforts, must have our respect, protection, and encouragement. Ideological-political work must reject narrow viewpoints and rather give expression of its respect for all men with boldness of vision and broadmindedness. It must unite those that are communist party members and those outside the party, unite all Marxists and non-Marxists, unite all men who can possibly be united, and unite them all closely together, politically, morally, and spiritually, for a joint struggle to accomplish our undertaking.

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CSO: 4005/097

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

## THEORETICAL PREPARATIONS FOR POLITICAL REFORM DISCUSSED

Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 20 Sep 86 p 4

[Article by Li Liangyu [2621 5328 3842]: "Good Theoretical Preparations Key to Success in Political Reform"]

[Excerpt] We should soberly realize that the restructuring of the political system affects the situation as a whole and is a sensitive issue. We must reform the political system, there is no alternative. But it will not be easy. Consequently we must do a good deal of preparatory work, an important aspect of which is to prepare ourselves for it properly on the theoretical level with thorough research and studies.

This kind of theoretical preparation is indispensable and extremely important for the following reasons.

First, as the restructuring of the political system affects the overall situation, it necessarily touches upon the party and government leadership systems, the scientific distribution of power, cadre policies and systems, democracy, and the legal system. Particularly impacted will be a series of critical reforms concerning the functions of the state, the proper setup of government machinery, the clear distribution of functions, and related reforms in the power, administrative, consultation, and supervisory systems, as well as the system of legal safeguards. Like the restructuring of the economic system, the restructuring of the political system is a large piece of social systems engineering. The purpose of reform is to establish a dynamic and highly democratic political system with sound and comprehensive laws. Since our practice in socialism so far has not provided us with such a system, we must create it. Without full theoretical preparation, we can only stumble along and may even make mistakes, to the detriment of the smooth progress of the restructuring of the economic system and the maintenance of stability and unity.

Second, as a socialist nation, we must insist that the restructuring of the political system proceed in accordance with the four cardinal principles. The four cardinal principles have been written into the constitution and certainly must not be violated. But the history of socialism in practice shows that the principles are inherently ever-changing; both their substance and manifestations are enriched over time. While the four principles are central



political principles, it does not mean that once they are in place, everything will be solved. They must still be substantiated and given concrete form that suits China's circumstances. This task awaits further research. Politics is a science and science must permit discussion. To proscribe political discussion and the airing of different opinions harms theoretical research in the restructuring of the political system. In this aspect, theoretical preparation has a special strategic significance.

Third, some people ask, "Hasn't Marxism furnished us with complete theories on the historic missions of the state, the party, and the proletariat?" Provided we integrate these theories with China's circumstances, they argue, we should not create new theories and what not; nor should we allow people to do so. This viewpoint is erroneous because the very act of "integration" rules out mechanical imitation but implies the creation of new theories and new ideas. Marx and Engels were confined to their times; they neither provided us with theories about the establishment of a ruling party nor defined the relations between the party and the state, not to mention discussing political reform. They put forward but did not definitively answer the central question which has yet to be worked out in practice: Apart from suppressing the resistance of the exploiting class, thoroughly overhauling the old socioeconomic structure based on private ownership, developing productive forces, and finally abolishing classes, which functions of social management that used to be discharged by the state should the dictatorship of the proletariat continue to perform?

We should, therefore, admit that what Marxist theories there are on party, the state, and the law fall far short of resolving all the problems we encounter in actually reforming the political system. Moreover, there are a few ideas which call for rethinking. All this demonstrates that we cannot assume that reform will succeed if only we base ourselves on existing Marxist and Leninist theories. Within the framework of improved and strengthened party leadership, we must free ourselves from the dogmatic strictures of certain political concepts and create a school of political thought with Chinese characteristics to guide the restructuring of the political system in practice. This underscores the importance of theoretical preparation.

Fourth, the lack of adequate theoretical preparation in the area of political reform also manifests itself in our long-standing total denial of the theory of the bourgeois state and bourgeois law. It seems as if we were trying to build a political Shangri-la from scratch. True, the bourgeois state and the proletarian state are fundamentally different in essence. But is there a total absence of the critical succession relations where the class nature of the state or law is most pronounced? Is there absolutely nothing we can learn from it? The answer should be no. Since even Marxism itself absorbed a number of advanced bourgeois ideas, how can the theory on the state and law, which is part of Marxism, be an exception? Discussing the relations between the political and institutional forms of the bourgeois state and the dictatorship of the proletariat, Engels said explicitly, "The bourgeois state's democratic republican form will be adopted by the proletariat when it comes into power in the future." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Chapter 4, P 508.) He also said, "The democratic representative form is even a special format for the dictatorship of the proletariat." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Chapter 22, p 274.) It can thus be seen that even the proletariat can learn from and adopt, with modifications, certain bourgeois democratic organizational formats.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

REFORM, DISCIPLINE INSPECTION WORK DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Oct 86 p 4

[Article by Liu Hanzhen [049: 3352 2823], secretary of the Guizhou Discipline Inspection Commission: "Discipline Inspection Work Must be Made To Serve the Reform"]

[Text] The reform now underway throughout China is a deepgoing social transformation, a great undertaking of the party and of the state. The discipline inspection departments of the party must render service to this great undertaking. In their work, they must closely link up with, protect, and promote the socialist reform of the economic and political system.

How is discipline inspection work to consciously protect and promote the reform?

There is, first of all, the problem of updating ideology and work style among the discipline inspection cadres themselves. Many units in Guizhou Province have already made several experiments in this respect. For instance, the discipline inspection commission of Guiyang Municipality changed its former "go it alone" mentality and set forth that discipline inspection work must, in the face of the new circumstances, establish a dialectical concept, persist in the concept of actual practice, and enhance its mass concept, and by doing so has indeed achieved great successes in its work. Their experiences show that if discipline inspection cadres hold on to obsolete views, "try to recover a sword that went overboard by making a notch on the boat which is moving on," they will not only fail to recover the "sword," but may even themselves be swept away by the tide of the new era. Only by a continuous study of the new problems, continuous application of new ideas and new knowledge to enrich oneself, can continuous achievements be accomplished. Apart from continuing presently to effectively investigate and dispose of major and important cases and of cases of violation of discipline, the work of discipline inspection must pay close attention to the new circumstances and new problems that continuously arise in the practical experiences of the reform of the economic system and in the political and ideological fields, also to the strengthening of investigation and study, as an effective and substantial ideological preparation for the reform of the political system.



The discipline inspection commissions of the party must not only resolutely oppose and straighten out whatever persons or things they find obstructing or sabotaging the reform, but must strive to turn discipline inspection work into an important force for the active promotion of the reform. The reform is a new undertaking, and as such will naturally meet with various obstructive forces. Some persons hold on to conservative views and stick to the old ways; the reform runs counter to their ideas and is offensive to their eyes. Others vilify the reform because it conflicts with their own selfish interests. There are also a few people who take advantage of some blemishes in the changeover from old to new as loopholes for schemes of personal enrichment. Faced with these obstructive forces, discipline inspection workers must keep sober-minded, differentiate between the various cases, and deal with each case on its own merits. When it is a question of insufficient knowledge, persuasion and education should be applied and guidance rendered. Cases in which advantage is taken of loopholes in the reform for personal gain, and serious violations of law and breaches of discipline which have occurred, must be investigated and punished according to the party's rules of discipline and according to state law. This is the only way to overcome obstructive forces, eliminate the obstacles, and promote the deep-going development of the reform. In case of reform staff committing mistakes due to faulty knowledge, the discipline inspection staff should of their own accord render assistance, helping them to review experiences and lessons of the past, perfect the reform measures, and encourage them to advance.

Policy limits must be strictly observed, any action must be practical and realistic, the zeal for the reform among cadres and the masses must be protected. Data presented by the correspondence and inquiry department of the discipline inspection commission reveal that four-fifths of the cases reported in letters from the masses are true, and that anonymous letters reporting falsehoods account for merely one-fifth. Only an extremely small number are outright false accusations. In a large proportion of the major and important cases which are now being investigated or have been disposed, clues had been provided by anonymous letters. It is, therefore, necessary that anonymous letter be analyzed; it would be wrong to categorically ignore them. Strict investigation and punishment is to take place in cases involving party members and leading cadres who are party members. However, in investigations and in the meting out of penalties, the principle of finding truth from facts must be observed, and the forms of "public criticism and denouncement" must not be used. It is also not permissible to apply the "leftist" practice of allowing only the exposers and examiners to speak, and not allowing the person under investigation to speak, or to disallow his defense by someone else. This is the only way to expose contradictions, distinguish right from wrong, determine the nature of the problem, and arrive at a practical and realistic conclusion. This is an important and indispensable factor in upholding the reform and protecting the reform.

Efforts must be made to enhance the quality of discipline inspection cadres. The quality of service to the reform rendered by discipline inspection work is to a large extent determined by the political and professional quality of the work force engaged in disciplinary inspection work. As the reform develops with greater intensity, the social structure is rapidly changing from a closed pattern to an opened-up pattern, and many new problems in the economic,

political, scientific and technological, as well as cultural and art fields may arise before us. We must exert ourselves in the study of Marxist philosophy and socioeconomics, and exert efforts to open up and broaden our range of knowledge. Otherwise, even filled with enthusiasm and with excellent political expertise, we would find ourselves completely helpless in the face of intricate and complex political problems, economic problems, cultural problems, as well as scientific and technological problems. Times move on, the undertakings of the party are being constantly developed, and the task is arduous and the way long for all those engaged in discipline inspection work.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BAIQEN ERDINI MEETS YUNNAN PROVINCIAL LEADERS

HK311051 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 29 Oct 86

[Excerpt] In the afternoons of 28 and 29 October, NPC Standing Committee Vice Chairman Baiqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyaincain met leaders of the provincial party committee, the provincial people's congress standing committee, the provincial government, the provincial CPPCC, and the provincial military district. He presented hadas to the leaders.

In the course of the meetings, Vice Chairman Baiqen conversed with the leaders. He said: Entrusted by the CPC Central Committee and the NPC, during this trip we have inspected Diqing, Lijiang, Dali, and Chuxiong Prefecture and Autonomous Prefectures, realizing that people of various nationalities fully support the party's line, principles, and policies. This fully shows that the party's line, principles, and policies following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee are absolutely correct.

Vice Chairman Baiqen also said: Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, all nationality areas have undergone great changes in many areas. This is a gratifying result. But we should also realize that the development of the minority nationality areas is rather slow, particularly relative to the advanced areas. Therefore, we must further do well in the nationality work so that various nationalities will develop at the same pace. This is of great significance in terms of nationality unity, state unification, and frontier consolidation.

On 29 October, accompanied by Zhuo Jia, vice minister of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission; Yang Ming, vice chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee; and Vice Governor Dao Guodong, Vice Chairman Baiqen inspected the Yunnan College for Minority Nationalities and the Secondary school under the Yunnan Teachers' University.

On the evening of 29 October, the provincial military district held a reception party for Vice Chairman Baiqen and his party.

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4 December 1986

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

## DIALOGUE ON SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION--PART I

OW052257 Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Sep 86 p 4

[Dialogue on Studying the "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Spiritual Civilization"--Part I]

[Text] 1. The Overall Scheme of China's Modernization Program

A: The "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Spiritual Civilization" (hereinafter referred to as "Resolution") states: "The overall scheme of China's socialist modernization is as follows: Taking economic development as the central task, we are to continue unswervingly to restructure our economic system; reform our political system; and strengthen the building of a spiritual civilization. At the same time, we must make sure that these aspects of our work are coordinated and promote each other." This is not a lengthy statement, but it points out "one central task," "three things to be done unswervingly", and how they are interrelated. It is, therefore, of great importance. With a clear understanding of this "overall scheme," we will be able to "have the whole situation in mind" and proceed from a strategically advantageous position in building a spiritual civilization.

B: Please be more specific.

A: In the first place, a clear understanding of the "overall scheme" will broaden our vista and enable us to see correctly the strategic importance of building a spiritual civilization in light of the overall scheme. Comrade Hu Yaobang said in his report at the 12th CPC National Congress: "From the time that the whole party shifted the focus of its work to the modernization of China's economy, the party Central Committee has proclaimed seriously on many occasions that while working for a high level of material civilization, we must strive to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. This concerns the strategic principle for building socialism." A high level of material civilization, spiritual civilization, and democracy is a "trinity" goal that we should strive unswervingly to achieve in our modernization drive. As an organic component of the overall scheme, the building of a spiritual civilization

is a responsibility bestowed upon us by history. This task, which concerns the thriving or waning, success or failure of socialism, is by no means a makeshift measure, and in no way should we view it from the apparent meaning of the words alone.

B: In the overall scheme, the "three things to be done unswervingly" should all center on economic construction. Also, they cannot be separated and carried out "independently," but should be coordinated and should promote each other. Is this understanding correct?

A. What you have said is absolutely correct. For instance, insofar as the relationship between the work of building a spiritual civilization and promoting material civilization is concerned, we have to oppose two erroneous views--we have to oppose not only the view that spiritual civilization may exist without any material prerequisite and is not restricted by material conditions but also the view that spiritual civilization will naturally develop once a well-developed material civilization has been achieved.

B: What is the second thing you want to say?

A: The second thing is that once we have a clear understanding of the "overall scheme," we will be able to handle properly the relations of "being coordinated and promoting each other" and have a more clear-cut guiding thought for building a spiritual civilization. With regard to the relationship of economic construction and the building of a spiritual civilization, the latter should be carried out in connection with the former, which is the central task. That is to say, in building a spiritual civilization, we should also make a thorough change by shifting the focus of work to modernization and aiming at promoting economic development. We should never depart from the central task and "merely serve our own purpose"; still less should we repeat the past mistakes of "taking class struggle as the key link" and "putting destruction first" and use "mass criticism to open the way." To do so will not only hinder and interfere with the central task of economic construction, but also disrupt the work of building a spiritual civilization.

B: Absolutely correct. Speaking of the relations between building a spiritual civilization and reforming our economic and political systems, I think we should go out of the confines of "merely serving our own purpose" in building a spiritual civilization. We cannot talk about building a spiritual civilization without referring to reforms. Rather, these tasks should be coordinated and should promote each other.

A: What you have said is right. We should understand fully the importance of building a spiritual civilization in light of the strategic importance of this task. We should understand fully the urgency and protracted nature of gearing up for this task and make an unswerving effort to grasp it.

## 2. To Build a Spiritual Civilization Capable of Pushing Forward the Modernization Program

A: Now that the building of a spiritual civilization is an important component part of the overall scheme of the modernization program, then why does the "Resolution" especially emphasize a condition that we must build a spiritual civilization capable of pushing forward the modernization program?

B: According to the "Resolution," this condition arises due to the strategic importance of building a spiritual civilization. The "Resolution" also says that this condition is one of the basic guiding principles. To my understanding, it is a guidance for us to handle well the relationship between building a spiritual civilization and the modernization program. There are two points of significance here for us to comprehend thoroughly. One is that the building of a spiritual civilization must be subordinate to and serve the modernization program. The other is that we must get into action in order to build a spiritual civilization.

A: Can you be more specific?

B: Sure. The building of a spiritual civilization must be subordinate to and serve the modernization program. In other words, the building of a spiritual civilization should be connected to the key link--economic construction--and it should promote economic development. It should not be disassociated from the key link, nor should it obstruct economic development. As we know, material civilization is an indispensable basis for building a spiritual civilization; the development of material production is a material prerequisite and guarantee for engaging in activities related to a spiritual civilization; the process of building material civilization also leads to development of a spiritual civilization; and the development of material civilization will promote people's ideological and moral progress.

A: I understand this point. If we do not work to develop the economy, we will be unable to do a fundamentally good job in spiritual civilization either. A serious miscalculation we made previously was that after the basic completion of the socialist transformation, we continued to persist in "taking class struggle as the key link" and did not shift the stress of our work to economic construction. We even practiced so-called "great political revolution," and as a result, we lost an excellent opportunity for economic construction and undermined the building of a spiritual civilization.

B: You are right. The building of a spiritual civilization should be connected to the key link--economic construction--to provide a cultural motivating force and intellectual support for developing material civilization and to provide an effective ideological guidance for maintaining the correct orientation of the development of material civilization. I understand that in building a spiritual civilization, we should draw on historical lessons and get out of the confine of "self service." The primary criterion for appraising the work of building a spiritual civilization is to see whether



it is conducive to making the country and the people prosperous and to social stability and people's unity, or not.

A: Then, what is the other point you have just mentioned?

B: When we say that we must get into action in order to build a spiritual civilization, we mean that the development of a spiritual civilization requires the action to build. The building of a spiritual civilization consists of two aspects--the aspect of education, science and culture, and the aspect of ideology and morality. The first aspect deals with the scope and level of development in education, science, culture, art and physical culture. It is very clear that we must get into action in order to expand the scope and raise the level of the development in this aspect.

A: You bet. We will never permit a repetition of the mistake of the 10 chaotic years in practicing so-called "smashing everything." That was destruction, not construction. We should actively pursue effective construction to satisfy the people's various needs in their cultural life.

B: Precisely. The ideological and moral aspect of the building of a spiritual civilization primarily deals with socialist and communist ideals, ethics and a working attitude: lofty ideological values, way of life and aesthetic standards; a conscientious law-abiding spirit and a high degree of sense of organization and discipline; patriotism and internationalism; and a new-type of relations among people. In this respect, we should also get into the action of construction. We must not repeat the mistake of "taking class struggle as the key link" and "destruction comes first." To deal with ideological problems, we should not resort to "mass criticism," nor should we wage a "class struggle in the sphere of ideology." We should adopt the method of discussion, reasoning, criticism and self-criticism. In other words, we should use the method of education and persuasion to solve the problems. We should carry out an ideological education of various forms in various ways, such as education in lofty ideals, ethics and discipline, and develop the ideological and moral aspect of the spiritual civilization to enhance the people's consciousness and enthusiasm for undertaking the four modernizations and turn them into socialist citizens with lofty ideals, morality, education and a sense of discipline.

A: Yes, of course. To foster a civilized, healthy, scientific mode of life, we should pay attention to guidance and examples. Changing customs and habits should be done by the masses themselves on a voluntary basis and under the prerequisite of respecting good ones, but party members and CYL members should set an example in this respect.

B: Correct! In speeding up the building of a spiritual civilization, we must remember that the goal is to boost the development of the four modernizations drive.

### 3. Building a Spiritual Civilization To Stimulate All-Around Reform

A: According to the "Resolution," the goal of building a spiritual civilization is to promote all-around reform and opening to the outside world. Here, let us first discuss the relationship between reform and building a spiritual civilization.

B: This is a very important question. Some comrades have commented that reforms have enlivened our economy but have confused us ideologically, and that production has increased but has also slowed down our building of a spiritual civilization. This is a question of the relationship between reform and building a spiritual civilization.

A: This view is heavily one-sided because it regards reform as incompatible with building a spiritual civilization. In fact, reform is aimed at developing and improving the socialist system. Reforms, unfolded in an all-around way, have drastically changed the situation in China during the past few years. Through reforms we have built a dynamic new socialist economic structure, which will basically ensure the sustained and stable development of China's productive forces. Such an economic structure has invigorated our socialist cause and is a great impetus to building a spiritual civilization. Reform and building a spiritual civilization support and promote each other; they do not contradict each other.

B: We have already discussed this question. Those who regard reform as incompatible with building a spiritual civilization show that they have not made a thorough assessment of the actual situation.

A: Yes. Reform has created some new situations and new problems for building a spiritual civilization; but, most importantly, it has brought about many favorable and even decisive conditions. For example, a profound change has taken place in people's thinking and mental attitude following the development of the commodity economy and the improvement of socialist democratic politics; economic and social activities have been diversified; and economic laws, decrees, and regulations have been improved. These are very favorable for building a spiritual civilization, and some of them are actually part of spiritual civilization construction process. This point should not be overlooked, let alone the fact that construction of a spiritual civilization promotes reforms. Has not the change in people's concept created a favorable environment for reforms?

B: I see. Besides, we carry out reforms in order to develop the socialist commodity economy and social productive forces. Spiritual civilization construction should support and promote reforms. In other words, it should support and promote reforms. In other words, it should support and promote the development of a planned commodity economy, not impede and restrict its development.

A: On this question, spiritual civilization construction should play a positive role, not a passive one. For example, in developing culture and



education, both economic and social benefits should be taken into account. For example, the development of the commodity economy in China has brought about a period of change in social concepts. In our society, spiritual life, like material life, is suffering from the upheavals of the new replacing the old. Two major sets of concepts conforming to commodity economy have exerted a great influence on the change of concept in our entire society.

B: Which two major sets of concepts?

A: The first one is the concept of material interest, which includes mutually-related theories of how we acquire and treat material interest. The major ones are the theories of value, time, cost, profit, market, benefit, accumulation, and so on. The second set is the concept of renovation, which includes mutually-related ideas of how to achieve success through renovation in the market and in a competitive environment. The major ones are the ideas of efficiency, science and technology, management, operation, information, socialization, openness, integration, qualified personnel, and so on. Spiritual civilization should play a "leading" role in renewing the people's concepts if it is to meet the needs of and promote commodity economy.

B: Under commodity economy, the idea and practice of putting money above all else, and of making money in total disregard of social interest, will become more prevalent. In developing spiritual civilization, attention should be given to this problem, and appropriate countermeasures taken.

A: Right. Appropriate measures should be taken to resist decadent capitalist and feudalist ideas.

B: Now I see. Reform places a new and higher demand on and sets the stage for the development of spiritual civilization, while spiritual civilization provides reform with a powerful ideological motive force. We should not regard these two things as "entirely irrelevant to each other," but should ensure that spiritual civilization promotes the all-around reform.

#### 4. Developing Spiritual Civilization Through Opening to the Outside World

A: Let's talk about the relationship between opening to the outside world and developing spiritual civilization.

B: Well. Obviously, opening to the outside world has a positive effect on economic construction and on the masses' ideology and morality. This was illustrated in recent press reports on the situation in Guangzhou. Of course, problems exist. For instance, some negative phenomena have been reported in the course of opening to the outside world. How shall we respond? Shall we slam the door shut in panic, or shall we continue to open up and adopt countermeasures accordingly? This is worth discussing.

A: The open door can no longer be shut. Opening to the outside world has become our fundamental state policy.

B: Why did you say that?

A: In my opinion, first, in the present world, the distance between countries is "narrowing," which leads some people to coin the phrase "world village." No one country can isolate itself from the world. By no means can we accomplish the four modernizations behind closed doors. We should actively promote international exchange, demonstrate our talents, and make progress on the huge world stage.

B: It is true. Big industries have established a world market, bringing all countries closer together. Now people who leave the Western Hemisphere in the morning are arriving in the Eastern Hemisphere by evening.

A: Secondly, the history of modern world development and of China itself shows that in order to achieve prosperity, a country cannot reject the advanced science and culture of other countries. The old democratic revolution in China was inseparable from the influence of the Russian October Revolution and Marxist scientific thinking. Development of the four modernizations should also be based on self-reliance, and actively absorb the achievements of contemporary human civilization.

B: Close-doorism will only result in stagnation and backwardness. Social civilization is the result of absorbing outstanding achievements of other societies. In order to make progress in developing socialist spiritual civilization, we should also absorb outstanding achievements of all countries in the world.

A: Exactly right. Thirdly, we also have to admit that the economics, science, and culture bequeathed to us by history are backward and that this situation still has not fundamentally changed. Therefore, we must pay particular attention to learning them from foreign countries. We should learn advanced ideas from other socialist countries and Third World countries. We must also learn the advanced science, technology, management experience, and beneficial culture that accumulated and developed rapidly under conditions of capitalism.

B: You are precisely correct. The "Resolution" emphatically points out: "Opening to the outside world is an unshakable basic national policy. It applies not only to building material civilization but also to building spiritual civilization."

A: Right. Since it is a basic national policy to open to the outside world, the building to spiritual civilization should coordinate with and promote this policy, and not oppose it. We must continue to open our door wide. The most important thing in building spiritual civilization is to educate people of the whole country to learn and master, through determination and great efforts, advanced science, technology, universally

applicable economic, administrative, and managerial experiences, and other beneficial culture from various countries of the world, including developed capitalist countries. We should test and develop them through practice. Not doing so means stupidity and will make us unable to realize modernization.

B: In this way, can we disregard those negative factors in the course of opening to the outside world?

A: Not quite. The emergence of certain negative factors has its profound social and historical causes. It is to some extent related to opening to the outside world but it is not a necessary consequence. It is just like letting in some flies if we open our window. After opening our door, certain corrupt ideologies and lifestyles would also take the opportunity to enter our society. The remnants of feudalism left over from old China cannot be eliminated within a short period; they would emerge when the situation permits. Therefore, we don't have to hastily close our door. We should, in the course of strengthening our building of spiritual civilization, adopt appropriate methods to reduce those negative factors to a minimum.

B: What will be the influence of opening to the outside world on the revitalization of Chinese civilization?

A: This is a very important subject. Concisely speaking, in the course of opening to the outside world, Chinese civilization will face the world and absorb all outstanding achievements of world civilization. We should have confidence in this respect. The Chinese nation is a great nation with a long history and culture; it stood at the forefront in the history of ancient civilizations for a long period. Due to the corrupt feudal system and aggression by imperialism, we lagged behind in modern times. The 1911 revolution, the 4 May movement, and the people's great revolution led by the Communist Party of China have brought a great change to the history of China. A great rejuvenation of Chinese civilization on the basis of socialism has started since the founding of new China. Since our country's entering into the new period of historical development marked by the convocation of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, new and strong vitality has been added to the rejuvenation. Of course, in dealing with the corrupt ideology of capitalism, we must keep our mind sober and must look squarely at various kinds of problems and make efforts to solve them.

##### 5. Building Spiritual Civilization by Adhering to the Four Cardinal Principles

A: The "Resolution" points out that the building of spiritual civilization must be the building of spiritual civilization by adhering to the four cardinal principles. How should we understand this?

B: It refers to the relationship between adherence to the four cardinal principles and the building of spiritual civilization. We can understand the relationship from various perspectives. The important thing is that our present efforts in building socialist spiritual civilization will lead to building a highly developed socialist spiritual civilization guided by Marxism, which assimilates with discrimination the historical tradition and gives full play to the spirit of our times. It will be a new stage in the civilization of mankind.

A: That is correct. People in various historical periods under all kinds of social systems have always created their own material and spiritual civilization, forming a long history of the development of human civilization. The essence and the final results of the development of socialist spiritual civilization cannot be matched by capitalist spiritual civilization or spiritual civilization of earlier periods.

B: You are exactly right. The great development of human civilization under capitalism was based on plundering and hurting the interests of the vast colonies, semi-colonies, and underdeveloped countries; it was characterized by great inequalities in the enjoyment of material things and culture. The development was also accompanied by corrupt, ugly, and vile things in spiritual and cultural life. Only when we eliminate class exploitation, oppression, and antagonisms through the socialist system can we finally overcome all the deep contradictions of the past, promote a healthy and coordinated development of mankind's material and spiritual civilization, and open a new period with respect for the welfare of all people.

A: We can explain it in this way: The building of spiritual civilization should adhere to the four cardinal principles. We should form opinions, and value concepts, cultural conditions, and social environments which are conducive to promoting socialist modernization and all-around reform. We must also effectively resist the corrupt ideology of capitalism, and prevent the danger of losing our bearings.

B: Yes. However, we should also see that while socialist civilization has opened a new period in mankind's civilization, we still face a series of complicated basic contradictions in building spiritual civilization.

A: What are the main contradictions?

B: There are four main contradictions. First, there is the backwardness of education, science, and cultural development that is related to the backwardness of economic development and backwardness of concepts in those fields. The backwardness contradicts the demand of building spiritual civilization. Second, the feudal rule of more than 2,000 years and semi-colonial rule of more than 100 years have left a deep influence on people's ideology.

A: We indeed must not underestimate this kind of influence. In our society today, there are still remnants of the patriarchal concept, the acceptance of special privilege, autocratic style, factionalism, and the custom of respecting men and looking down on women. In essence, they are all a reflection of feudalism's remaining pernicious influence.

B: Right. Third, the foreign corrupt ideology of capitalism has been constantly corroding us. Owing to increasing international contacts, the corrupt ideology and lifestyle of the foreign capitalist class will enter our life. The servile thinking generated under the conditions of semi-colonial society still has a deep influence on us. Fourth, under the socialist system, there are still various kinds of contradictions related to basic interests and their influence on people's ideology and moral tendencies. For instance, when an enterprise has expanded its decision-making power, it is apt to "contend with the state in seeking profits" or to "contend with the people in seeking profits" and infringe upon state interests and consumers' interests if the responsible person of the enterprise cannot get rid of the concept of private ownership and small-group mentality.

A: In building spiritual civilization, we must pay attention to correctly handling those contradictions.

#### 6. Building Spiritual Civilization Should Have Constructive Action in Mind

A: The "Resolution" clearly states: "The fundamental task of building socialist spiritual civilization is to meet the needs of socialist modernization, cultivate socialist citizens with ideals, morality, culture, and discipline, and raise the ideological, moral, scientific, and cultural quality of the entire Chinese nation." In order to realize this task, what is the most important thing from the perspective of drawing a lesson from historical experience?

B: I think we should gear our work in all areas to the needs of construction. As stated in the "Resolution", "we should always keep national construction in the forefront of our thoughts. We should do everything possible to unite the people and bring their socialist enthusiasm and initiative into play, to meet their cultural and intellectual needs, to raise their ideological and ethical standards, and to develop education, science, and culture. In short, we should do everything possible to facilitate the growth of the productive forces."

A: Why should it be so?

B: I think it has something to do with the main contradictions in our country at the present stage.

A: Are not the main contradictions in our country at the present stage the problems between the people's increasing material and cultural needs and our backward social production?

B: They are. In fact, a conclusion to this effect was reached at the Eighth Party Congress in 1956. (The way it was presented was: "Contradictions between an advanced socialist system and backward social productive forces.") It was too bad that, for a long time, we took a roundabout course in understanding our society's main contradictions. Until we put things in order after crushing the "Gang of Four," we did not return to the right track, or soberly understand that, following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production, the exploiting class no longer existed as a class. Nor did we understand that, although class struggle would continue to exist for a long time within a certain scope, it was no longer the main contradiction, and that most of the problems that continued to exist in our society did not have the nature of class struggle. The main contradictions in China's society at the present stage are contradictions between the people's increasing material and cultural needs and our backward social production.

A: Is this a historical lesson?

B: It is. After we realized our main contradictions, we correctly shifted the focus of our work. After 1957, we miscalculated the main contradictions in our socialist society and failed to promptly shift the focus of our work to economic construction. We continued to "take class struggle as the key link," belittle educational, scientific, and cultural construction, and grossly exaggerate class struggle in the ideological sphere. Consequently, the "Great Cultural Revolution" caused us serious setbacks. The lesson was a bitter one. After realizing the main contradictions in our society, we have in the past several years shifted the focus of our work to economic construction, and regarded development of social productive forces as the principal mission. Everyone can see now that the work in all areas is full of vitality and the present situation is better than at any other period in the past.

A: I think that, at a time when we are engaged in building a spiritual civilization, it is still important for us to correctly understand the main contradictions in our society.

B: That is right. We must keep national construction in the forefront of our thoughts. This can help us correctly understand the main contradictions in our society at the present stage. In building a spiritual civilization, we should focus our attention on bringing the people's initiative and creativity into play, satisfying their cultural and spiritual needs, raising their ideological and ethical standards, and developing education, science, and culture. We should never again repeat the previous mistake of carrying out "class struggle in the ideological sphere."

A: But are there not still many problems in the ideological sphere?

B: The problems in the ideological sphere must be resolved, of course. But we must keep firmly in mind our historical lessons and correctly handle

the various contradictions in our socialist society. With regard to ideological problems, we must resolve them through discussion; and reasoning, and by criticism and self-criticism. In other words, we should resolve those problems by means of education and persuasion, and not by force or coercion.

A: I agree.

(To be continued)

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION DIALOGUE, PART II

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[Dialogue on Studying the "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Spiritual Civilization"--Part II]

[Text] 7. Respect, Protect, and Develop Various Forms of Positive Thinking and Spirit

A. The "Resolution" has set a clear-cut common ideal for the people of all nationalities of China to "build a socialist society with Chinese characteristics"; to "build China into a highly civilized, democratic, and modern socialist nation"; and to "raise China's economy to a comfortable level by the end of this century and to a still higher level approaching that of the world's developed nations by the mid-2000's." This common ideal reflects in a nutshell the interests and wishes of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, and other personages and patriots and is a strong spiritual weapon to ensure political, moral, and spiritual unity of the entire people and to conquer any hardship and difficulty and win victory. To realize this common ideal, the "Resolution" proposes that three forms of positive thinking and spirit be respected, protected, and developed. Please discuss this question.

B: Very well. The "Resolution" says: "All positive thinking and spirit that contribute to the four modernizations, revitalization of the Chinese nation, and reunification of the motherland; all positive thinking and spirit that are conducive to national unity, social progress, and the well-being of the people; and all positive thinking and spirit that advocate seeking happiness in life by means of honest work, should be respected, protected, and developed." I understand that this is the guiding ideology for uniting the people of the whole country to make concerted efforts in realizing the common ideal. When this guiding ideology is fully understood by the people of the entire nation, particularly by the vast number of cadres, it can closely unite all patriots and all those that can be united toward taking positive action and working hard for the realization of the common ideal.



A: Can you be more specific?

B: Our country has vast territory and a large population, and the development of economy, culture, education, and other areas varies from region to region. Thus, it is natural that there are great differences in the people's ideological level, degree of consciousness, aspirations, temperament and interests. For instance, in work, we have workers and peasants, physical laborers and mental workers, and state enterprise staffers and workers and individual workers; in ideology, we have Marxists and non-Marxists as well as atheists and religious followers; and regionally, we have people living in the frontier and in inland areas as well as people living in mainland China and those living overseas; and so on and so forth. With people so diverse in status, it is impossible to require uniformity in everything. However different they may be, to build our nation into a highly civilized, democratic, and modern socialist country is a common ideal supported and shared by all people. All positive thinking and spirit that contribute to the four modernizations, revitalization of the nation, and reunification of the motherland; are conducive to national unity, social progress, and the well-being of the people; and advocate seeking happiness by means of honest work, in short, all positive thinking and spirit that help realize the common ideal should be respected, protected, and developed. For instance, an individual worker who abides by law and discipline and has become prosperous should be respected and not be discriminated against. To quote Comrade Hu Yaobang, their professions are also honorable.

A: It will not be easy to do this.

B: Therefore, we must be broad-minded, have wide vision, and truly conquer the danger of narrow-mindedness that has formed over a long period of time.

#### 8. Common Ideal and Supreme Ideal

A: People often say that realizing communism is the supreme ideal of our party. Then, what is the relationship between the supreme ideal and the common ideal of the people of the whole nation at this stage?

B: The "Resolution" says: "Our party's supreme ideal is to establish a communist society with the concept of from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs. This supreme ideal was, is, and will always be a source of strength and a spiritual pillar for communists and advanced elements. Building a socialist society with Chinese characteristics is an inevitable stage in realizing this supreme ideal". To realize the supreme ideal of communism, we cannot skip the "inevitable stage" of building a socialist society with Chinese characteristics.

A: Building a communist society is something in the distant future, and it will require the efforts of many generations. It appears that it has little to do with our current task.

B: Not so. Marx and Engels said: "What we call communism is a kind of real movement to eliminate the present status." Communism is a doctrine and an ideal, but at the same time, it is also a real movement as well as a social practice. This real movement, with realizing communism as its ultimate goal, has different historical stages, each having its own goals of struggle and different common ideals. The efforts made to reach the goals of struggle and realize the common ideal in each different historical stage are all component parts of the communist movement. Socialism is a primary stage of communism. Our current task of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, in which the people of the whole nation regard building China into a highly civilized, democratic, and modern socialist country as the common ideal, is precisely a step in socialist construction under the guidance of communist ideology. It is a component part as well as an "inevitable stage" of the communist movement. Realizing this common ideal means that we are taking a step forward toward the communist future. To a communist, working hard for the realization of the common ideal also means working hard for the party's supreme ideal.

A: Now I see. Without this step, without this "necessary stage," to attempt to "enter communism on the double" is impossible.

B: You are right on the mark. Communist society was not an objective concoction of the founders of Marxism but an inexorable trend in the development of human society and a scientific understanding of the authors of Marxist classics regarding the law of social development. Without a high degree of development in social productivity, without abundant social wealth, and without great consciousness among the people, a communist society will never come about. In the late 1950's, because we lacked a full understanding of this point, we stirred up a "communist wind" and engaged in promoting "large in size and collective in nature" in the people's communes. Some localities strove to "enter communism on the double." All this caused heavy losses to the national economy. We learned a profound lesson.

A: I now understand why a "necessary stage" is proposed.

B: The "Resolution" has not only clearly explained the relationship between the supreme ideal and the common ideal but has also talked about the "two integrations."

A: What "two integrations?"

B: They are: "Integrating the common ideal with the development and construction goals of the various professions, trades, localities, and collectives, and with the personal responsibilities and goals in life of each individual." When these "two integrations" have been accomplished, they can encourage more and more people to devote themselves to national construction and reform, to build up the country through thrift and hard work, and to work in a down-to-earth manner for the realization of the common ideal.

A: Right. What you say reminds me of a famous saying by (Krylov): "Reality is like this side of the river, while an ideal is the other side of the river. The river flows with a swift current, but action is building a bridge across the river." Let us take positive action, build a bridge, and work hard to realize the common ideal and reach the other bank of our ideal.

## 9. Basic Demands for Ethics

A: What are the basic demands set in the "Resolution" for socialist ethics?

B: They are "love for the motherland, the people, labor, science, and socialism." We should express our "love in these five aspects" in various fields of social life in order to build and develop a new type of socialist relationship based on equality, unity, fraternity, and mutual assistance among people of all nationalities; among workers, peasants, and intellectuals; between armymen and civilians; between cadres and ordinary people; within a family or neighborhood; and in the interrelations among the people.

A: Is it vital to build a new type of relationship among the people?

B: Yes. A special characteristic of socialism is to eliminate the society of exploitation of man by man under the system of private ownership and to establish a new type of relationship based on equality, unity, fraternity, and mutual assistance among the people. Such a relationship is a vital component of socialist ethics and is of great importance in promoting social stability, unity, and economic prosperity and in perfecting the socialist system.

A: How can we build such a new type of relationship?

B: First of all, we should advocate the spirit of socialist collectivism and correctly handle the relationship between personal and public interests under socialism. We should also encourage the spirit of taking into account overall interests, keeping one's word, assisting each other, and helping the poor. Socialist collectivism is in keeping with the relations of socialist production based on public ownership and is a basic requirement for large-scale socialist production under the socialist system. Marx and Engels said: "Only within a collective can an individual obtain the means for all-around development of his talent. In other words, individual freedom can be realized only within a collective." Contrary to the view that misunderstands collectivism as incompatible with individual interests, socialist collectivism does not obliterate but fully respects individual interests and development. The crux of the matter lies in that when handling all kinds of practical interests, it is necessary to ensure that individual interests are incorporated into public interests and that public interests are placed above personal interests.

A: What else should we do to build a new relationship?

B: We should also vigorously promote professional ethics among all trades and professions and develop socialist humanism in community life.

A: Will you explain the reasons for developing socialist humanism?

B: Sure. Socialist ethics is a reflection of the socialist economic foundation and a new realm in the development of ethics in human civilization. In promoting socialist ethics, it is necessary to inherit and assimilate the fine ethical legacy in the history of mankind, including the general mores of humanism. Of course, the humanism we advocate is socialist humanism which, compared with humanism in general, has additional features such as the correct handling of people's rights and dignity under socialism. We should respect and show concern for people. In particular, we should protect children; respect women; honor old people, disabled servicemen, and family members of soldiers on active service and of revolutionary martyrs; and help the handicapped and people who cannot support themselves and who have no close relatives. These mores are also an important criterion for measuring social civilization.

A: That is right!

B: Do we still want to discuss communist ethics?

A: Did the "Resolution" not already explain this issue? The "Resolution" said: "Socialism is an historic movement toward a higher stage of communism. Imbued with a pioneering spirit, the advanced members of our society are ready to blaze new trails and devote themselves entirely to the interests and happiness of the people, to the communist ideal. They will not hesitate in sacrificing themselves whenever necessary. We should encourage such a high standard of communist ethics throughout our society. Party members, leading cadres in particular, should live up to this standard without fail."

B: It is perfectly correct. In promoting ethics, it is necessary to proceed from reality, encourage advanced members, and consider the majority in order to incorporate advanced requirements into general requirements so as to unite and guide people with consciousness at varying degrees to march forward together and form a powerful spiritual force of hundreds of millions of people.

#### 10. Egalitarianism Is Not a Socialist Moral Norm

A: The "Resolution" points out: "Socialist morality rejects both the idea and the practice of pursuing personal interests at the expense of others or pursuing the interests of one's own group at the expense of the larger collective, putting money above all else, abusing power for personal gain, cheating and extortion. In our effort to cultivate socialist morality, we do not mean to reject the principle of distribution

according to work or to negate the commodity economy. We shall on no account regard egalitarianism as an ethical principle in our society." There is no mistaking at what this passage is aimed. Can we discuss it a bit further?

B: Certainly. Understanding what it means will greatly help understand what is socialist morality.

A: First of all, I think it has clearly distinguished the difference between distribution according to work and commodity economy on the one hand, and the misconception of putting money above all else, pursuing personal interests to the detriment of others, and cheating and extortion on the other. For a considerable time, many people have thought that distribution according to work and the commodity economy would spawn the misconception of pursuing self-interest to the detriment of others, cheating and extortion, and abusing power for personal gain. Subsequently these people consider "distribution according to work," which is a socialist principle and a form of commodity economy, as something evil. Thus, while they reject the practice of pursuing personal interests to the detriment of others, abusing power for personal gain, putting money above all else, and cheating and extortion, they have also knowingly or unknowingly done something which hurts the principle of distribution according to work and restricts the growth of the commodity economy. This can also be considered as an influence spawned by the argument put forward during the tumultuous decade that there was "soil which produced bourgeoisie." In fact, China is still at the initial stage of a socialist society, in which public ownership, the mainstay economic form, coexists with the commodity economy and various other economic forms, and in which social, productive forces have not yet been fully developed, and people's awareness still has to be heightened. Guided by the objective to achieve common prosperity, it is inevitable and necessary that some people, enterprises, and areas will become affluent ahead of others, and that there will be reasonable differences between them. Society morality reflects the socialist economic foundation. During the socialist stage, distribution according to work has its positive functions, and the commodity economy is an insurmountable stage in social development. If we were to reject these two, while advocating socialist morality, we would obstruct the growth of social productive forces and undermine the socialist economic foundation.

B: And then?

A: Then we would have to distinguish between equality and egalitarianism and point out that egalitarianism is definitely not a socialist moral norm. We used to have a one-sided view of the superiority of socialism, thinking that socialist equality meant "everybody has work, and everybody is fed." In fact, these words have different meanings: If they mean social security in general, they are merely what capitalist countries have also claimed they have; if they are regarded as a socialist principle for distribution according to work, they mean that every worker should

have equal rights and opportunities for work, although this does not necessarily mean that there will be no differences in their benefits; and if they mean benefits are shared equally among people regardless of their performance, then they are a form of egalitarianism. It seems that we can by no means equate this socialist principle for distribution according to work and equal rights and opportunities for work for each worker with egalitarianism, otherwise the negative phenomenon of "eating from the same big pot" with an "iron rice bowl" will be hard to eliminate, enterprises and individual workers will have no enterprising and competitive spirit, and our economic development will encounter formidable barriers.

B: In other words, we must recognize rational differences in order to combat egalitarianism.

A: Right. Distribution according to work is a principle which requires each worker to contribute more to society to the best of his ability. The worker will then be rewarded with consumer goods commensurate to the quantity and quality of the social wealth he has accumulated after all the necessary social expenses have been deducted. However, since there are still various other forms of ownership in our socialist society at the present stage, and the conditions of production also vary in various regions, departments and units, and workers are also different in terms of physical strength, intelligence and skills, as well as family burdens, "distribution according to work"--a principle meant to achieve equality--cannot be actually equal. That is why there are different degrees of affluence among workers. Such differences, which are rational and necessary, are essentially not the same as "polarization" in the old society.

B: In China, egalitarianism has a long history. The influence of the idea that "unequal allocation of resources, not their shortage, is the problem" is still deep-rooted.

A: That's true. So we must never advocate the small producers' egalitarian moral principle as if it were a socialist moral concept. Following the development of reform in all fields, our socialist moral construction should freshly develop. Currently, we should, on the basis of acknowledging the inevitable differences caused by the series of socialist policies, encourage the people to press forward for the sake of building a strong country with affluent people, to integrate individual interests with state and collective ones, and foster the spirit of cooperation and brotherhood.

#### 11. A High Degree of Democracy Is a Great Objective for Socialism

A: The "Resolution" says: "A high degree of democracy is one of the great objectives of socialism." What does it mean?

B: I remember Comrade Hu Yaobang saying in his report at the 12th Party Congress: "The building of a socialist material and a spiritual civilization must be guaranteed and supported by continual development of socialist



democracy. Building a high degree of socialist democracy is one of our basic objectives and tasks." These words very clearly explain the significance and role of a high degree of socialist democracy. Only that can ensure the development of our work along a correct course, so that they will be in keeping with the people's aspirations, interests, and needs; only a high degree of democracy can arouse the people's initiative and creativity and generate the inexhaustible power needed for the development of our socialist cause; and only with a high degree of democracy can we rebuff lawlessness and crime, exercise effective dictatorship over the small number of hostile elements, and safeguard the smooth progress of socialist construction. That is to say that, as a means, democracy serves as a kind of guarantee and support for the building of material and spiritual civilization.

A: Did you not say that a high degree of democracy is a great objective?

B: Yes. Democracy is both a means and an end. In human history, the concept of democracy, freedom, equality, and fraternity was fostered during the struggle waged by the newly-emerging bourgeoisie and the laboring people against the feudalistic and autocratic system. It was a great emancipation of the human spirit. While Marxism has inherited these concepts of the bourgeoisie in a critical way, it has principled differences with them. Fundamentally speaking, bourgeois democracy serves the purpose of maintaining the capitalist system. On the basis of eliminating class suppression and exploitation, socialism, for the purpose of achieving the target where people can become the master of their own home, has paved the way for pushing democracy to an even higher level. We shall create a democracy which is even higher and more practical than the democracy practiced by capitalist countries. One of the main historical lessons we have learned is our failure to seriously promote a democratic political system, and ignore the work of regarding democracy as an objective. After putting things in order following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we learned our historical lesson, and considered building a highly civilized, modern socialist state with a high degree of democracy as our objective, stressing that, without democracy, there would be no socialist modernization, that democracy must be institutionalized and codified into law, and that the party must operate within the bounds of the Constitution and other laws. We have thus effectively promoted the democratization of party operations and the state's political life, of economic management, and of social conduct as a whole. Because of this, we have greatly heightened the people's awareness that they are the master of their own home, and the functions of democracy as a means and as an end have been greatly manifested. We may say that building our country into a modern socialist country has two purposes; namely, achieving a high degree of civilization, which is exemplified in building a high degree of material and spiritual civilization, and achieving a high degree of democracy. Is it not that achieving a high degree of democracy is one of the great aims of socialism?

A: In explaining reform of the political structure, didn't the "Resolution" call for extending socialist democracy and improving the socialist legal system?

B: Yes, it did. The "Resolution" said: "In urging reform of the political structure, as it has done of late, the Central Committee aims--always while upholding the leadership of the party and the people's democratic dictatorship--to reform and perfect the party and state leadership systems, and to take a step further in extending socialist democracy and improving the socialist legal system, all for the purpose of facilitating socialist modernization."

A: True, reform of the political structure is very important. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said recently: "After we have taken a step forward in restructuring the economic system, we begin to realize the need to reform the political structure. Without carrying out political reform, the growth of productive forces will be impeded, and the success of socialist modernization obstructed." We should speed up the pace of political reform.

B: Your aspiration, of course, sounds good. However, reform of the political structure, which involves various fields, is an extremely complicated task. It is necessary to conduct ample investigation and study in order to decide the scope and starting point of political reform. It is also necessary to thoroughly study the theory, explore all kinds of plans, and publicize them, and then map out arrangements and carry them out in a systematic and orderly manner. In other words, reform of the political structure should not be carried out in haste, but should proceed with caution.

## 12. Enhancing the Awareness of Socialist Citizens

A: The "Resolution" called for "enhancing the awareness of socialist citizens." This is a new formulation. Could you explain what is meant by "awareness of citizens?"

B: This is a difficult question. I cannot explain, in a few words, the concept of "awareness of citizens." But I can begin with the definition of "citizen." Citizen is a legal concept, which generally indicates a person's legal status to hold the nationality of a country and enjoy the rights and fulfill the duties, according to the Constitution and other laws of that country. In China, article 33 of the Constitution stipulates: "All persons holding the nationality of the People's Republic of China are citizens of the People's Republic of China." That is to say, whoever holds Chinese nationality is a Chinese citizen, and this applies to workers, peasants, intellectuals, and all patriots who support socialism and the motherland's reunification, as well as those who have been deprived of their political rights according to law. Children and youngsters under the legal age, even infants, are all citizens. As citizens, they all enjoy the rights entitled by the Constitution and other



laws and, at the same time, they must fulfill the duties stipulated in the Constitution and other laws. In this sense, the "awareness of citizens" refers to a citizen's awareness of his legal status, rights, and duties, his awareness as a legal member, citizen, of the socialist country of the People's Republic of China.

A: It doesn't matter whether a person has the "awareness of citizens," because he can work and live as other people do. Is this correct?

B: no, it is not correct. A citizen, who has that legal status, should not fail to exercise his rights and perform his duties according to law as a result of lacking awareness. For example, without awareness, a person, whose reputation has been damaged by libel, will not be able to exercise his personal right of the "inviolability of the dignity of a citizen," entitled to him by the Constitution, and stand up to defend his legal rights and interests and protect his reputation and dignity according to law. There are people who insist that it is their "freedom" not to allow their children to attend primary and junior middle school. In fact, attending school is a right, as well as the duty, of a citizen. It is a legally compulsory right for a citizen to attend school.

A: Examples like this are actually numerous. Oh, now I remember. There is an historical reason for the decreased awareness of citizens in China. Over a protracted period, the people have demonstrated increased awareness in distinguishing enemies from friends. Comrades of the older generation have cast votes and elected people's deputies. They still have memories of an election. However, they have little idea of "citizens." Some confuse the people with electorate and citizens, believing that there is no difference between the three. There are many other reasons for this. One is the lack of effort to strengthen the legal system and carry out education on such a system.

B: Then, how can we enhance the awareness of the people as socialist citizens?

A: We still need to begin carrying out education on the legal system and strengthen it. Since the convocation of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, China has strengthened the legal system and vigorously carried out education on it. Over the past few years, it should be said that the awareness of citizens has been enhanced. Currently China is popularizing knowledge on legal matters among the people. It has also begun to carry out education in primary schools on democracy, on the legal system, and on discipline. This will help Chinese citizens understand their basic rights and obligations, as well as the laws and discipline in close connection with their own work and life. We must create strong public opinion on the fact that all the citizens of the People's Republic of China must consciously abide by the Constitution and enforce all laws, and that all citizens are equal before the law. This fact must become an unshakable guiding principle in China's political and social life. If we strengthen education as well as the

legal system, the latter will become something all citizens consciously observe. When the citizens' awareness is enhanced, socialist democracy will have a strong, legal guarantee.

### 13. Science Is An Important Indicator of Civilization

A: On the important role of education, science and culture, the "Resolution" said: "In today's world, science is increasingly becoming a revolutionary driving force of history. In fact, it has become a main indicator of the level of progress a nation has attained." Can you explain this?

B: Let me try. I would like to express my view on this. At the funeral service for Marx on 17 March 1883, Engels said in his eulogy: "In Marx's view, science is a revolutionary driving force of history... [JIEFANG RIBAO]." To regard science as a revolutionary driving force of history was Marx's view and a fact repeatedly verified by developments in history.

A: Didn't Marx say that "steam, electricity, and automatic weaving machines are much more dangerous than revolutionaries such as Barbaroux, Robespierre and Blanqui?"

B: Yes, he did. Marx did say that steam and other things were much more dangerous than these French revolutionaries. He stressed the revolutionary role of science and technology in promoting progress in history. Regarding the revolutionary role of science and technology, my understanding is: On the one hand, science and technology have greatly increased productivity and become an irresistible force in bringing about changes in production relations. For example, from 1770 to 1840, the productivity of every British worker was increased 40 times on average by the use of steam engines. The rapid developments in production has brought about a series of changes in production relations--the birth of the working class, industrial capitalists becoming the major component of the bourgeoisie, and the rapid growth of the urban population. The British bourgeoisie, who had become rulers through the Industrial Revolution, further consolidated and expanded their rule. In a sense, steam engines helped create the British Empire.

A: What is the other side?

B: The other side is: With their deep understanding of the natural world, science and technology have changed people's ideas and concepts. Sometimes science and technology directly lead to the revolution in ideas and concepts. The three discoveries in natural sciences in the middle of the 19th century--the theory on cells, the law of conservation and transformation of energy, and the Darwin Theory of Evolution--provided Marxism with a foundation in natural science. This is a clear example.

A: Now that you have explained it, I now fully understand the revolutionary role of science.

B: The saying that science is an important indicator of the level of civilization of a certain nation has also been verified by many facts. For example, a power tool represents the level of civilization of an era. Let us talk about the process of grinding. The process from hand grinding to grinding using draft animals, wind and steam grinders represents the different levels of civilization in history from handicraft to workshop handicraft, and to major industrial machinery use.

A: What you mention here involves the field of science, physics, and chemistry. I presume that culture and education in the ideological field are equally important.

B: Yes. Education, science, and culture are important conditions for the development of material civilization. They are also important conditions in raising the ideological and moral standards of the people. It would be hard to develop economic construction if our science and technology were backward. When our scientific and cultural standards are low, we become ignorant and lag behind others. Still less can we raise our ideological and moral standards. Socialist spiritual civilization is the integration of revolutionary and scientific spirit and the unity of revolutionary ideals, high moral standards, strict discipline, and modern science and culture. In the development of the modernization program, we must consciously rely on science, give full play to the spirit of respecting science and treasuring knowledge, and strive to raise our educational, scientific, and cultural standards in a down-to-earth manner throughout the nation, while we are developing either socialist material or spiritual civilization.

(To be continued)

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION DIALOGUE, PART III

OW160039 Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 86 p 4

[Dialogue on Studying the "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principle for Building a Socialist Spiritual Civilization"--Part III]

[Text] 14. Economic Construction Tasks and Cultural Construction Tasks

A: The "Resolution" says: "All localities should map out specific plans for their cultural development and ensure that they fulfill the tasks in this field, just as they are required to meet their economic targets." I think this is a very significant point. Shall we discuss it?

B: Since you have seen its significance, why don't you start first.

A: Economic construction, cultural construction, and political construction are inseparable because they each represent one aspect of social development. In the overall arrangements for China's socialist modernization drive, economic construction is the core and building spiritual civilization (including ideological and moral, educational, scientific, and cultural construction) and restructuring the political system (which in reality is also political construction) are all major component parts, none of which is dispensable. It goes without saying that there can be no cultural construction without economic construction because there will be no material foundation for cultural construction if production is slack and the economy is underdeveloped. Everyone understands this. Conversely, when certain progress has been made in economic construction and cultural construction has fallen behind, when no corresponding development is achieved in education, science, literature and art, journalism and publication, radio, film and television, public health, physical culture and sports, cultural relics, libraries, museums, and other fields of cultural undertakings, it would be very difficult to expect further development in economic construction. Physical fitness and scientific and educational knowledge of workers, application and popularization of new technologies, adoption of scientific management methods, and so forth all pose serious problems. This, too, is very obvious.

B: Judging from this angle, economic construction cannot be carried out without cultural construction. The impetus generated by cultural construction for economic construction is undeniable.

A: Correct. As the "Resolution" points out, it is necessary to "ensure that they fulfill the tasks in this field, just as they are required to meet their economic targets." This makes the tasks in the cultural construction field "mandatory targets," and we must "ensure they are fulfilled." Those comrades who have all along regarded cultural construction tasks as "flexible targets" must deepen their understanding.

B: Currently, some localities are diverting educational funds to build housing units for their cadres. This is not simply regarding cultural construction as a flexible task. This is abusing power for personal gain. This is an unhealthy practice.

A: In recent years, our government has attached great importance to cultural construction. The Seventh 5-Year Plan spells out many specific targets for the development of cultural undertakings, including education and science. The "Resolution" points out: "We should work to greatly expand them in light of the conditions of our country, a vast territory with uneven economic and cultural development. It is particularly important to expand education and scientific research, which are among the strategic priorities in our overall socialist modernization scheme, because without them, not only can there be no spiritual civilization but there can be no sustained economic growth." This should serve to enlighten those cadres who regard cultural construction tasks as "flexible targets." I believe the backward notion that belittles cultural construction will become increasingly unpopular.

B: In order to ensure that cultural construction tasks are fulfilled, besides deepening ideological understanding, should we not also consider many other questions concerning concrete organization work as well as policy?

A: Yes. One important work is to map out practical and concrete plans for the development of cultural undertakings. Shanghai Municipality and other cities including Guangzhou have all carried out activities to study the strategy for cultural development and formulate plans accordingly. To implement the strategic plan for Shanghai's cultural development, keeping in mind the interests of the whole situation and ensuring that various cultural construction targets are met, will undoubtedly be a tremendous impetus for Shanghai in carrying out reforms and invigorating its economy. This is indispensable if we want to build Shanghai into a modern, international metropolis capable of many functions.

B: Isn't it also necessary to solve the problem of funding cultural undertakings?

A: Yes. As far as the state is concerned, it should give political and financial support to guarantee the development of cultural undertakings and encourage all quarters of the community to support these undertakings.

#### 15. Marxism Is a Science That Constantly Enriches and Develops Itself

A: The "Resolution" has explicitly pointed out that to build a socialist spiritual civilization, it is essential that we adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and that Marxism is the major guiding theory in the entire building of spiritual civilization. However, it is said that theoreticians have different interpretations of upholding and developing Marxism.

B: This is the case. The "Resolution" says: "Marxism is a science that constantly enriches and develops itself in keeping with historical and scientific advances. Far from exhausting truth, it constantly opens up new avenues of truth in practice." Understanding this important thesis can help us correctly handle Marxism and more effectively apply it in guiding our building of spiritual civilization.

A: Would you please explain your understanding of this thesis?

B? Marxism is a proletarian scientific outlook of the world and a great achievement of all mankind's spiritual civilization; it is not a fossilized concept. It was born and has constantly enriched and developed itself in keeping with historical and scientific advances. Marxism was born over a century ago in the midst of the workers movement and on the basis of assimilating, in a critical way, the major ideological trends of the most advanced countries of the time. In the past century and a half, Marxism has imbued itself with great vitality precisely by absorbing nutrition from social practice and the advance of modern science.

A: Is this why some people say Marxism is an open not closed system?

B: Yes. Marxism is not a rigid doctrine but a science that constantly enriches and develops itself in keeping with historical and scientific advances. It is precisely because of this that we cannot understand Marxism in the light of dogmatism or use passages from Marxism-Leninism as a panacea for curing all ills.

A: It has been over a century since Marx died, and half a century since Lenin's death. Of course, it is impossible for the works written by Marx and Lenin in their time to solve the problems resulting from the tremendous changes that have taken place and are taking place in China and the rest of the world.

B: True! In view of the new circumstances and problems that have continuously arisen in our course to explore ways to build socialism with Chinese characteristics, we must apply the basic principles and methods to the careful study of new circumstances and creative solution



of new problems and study the laws governing the socialist modernization program in the economic, political, cultural, and social fields. At the same time, in order to advance Marxism in the course of practice, we must also study the latest development and ideological trends of the contemporary world and assimilate and summarize, in a critical way, new fruits of all scientific subjects. This is what our party has done in recent years. The decision of the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee on reforming the economic structure has explicitly pointed out that a commodity economy--a planned commodity economy based on public ownership--still exists in a socialist society. This is an advance, or a "breakthrough," in the Marxist commodity theory. This new conclusion has been and is being proved correct in the course of practice.

A: Right! Instead of using fossilized concepts to interpret life, we must assume a scientific attitude; proceed from reality; make practice the sole criterion for verifying truth; and jettison all judgments and conclusions that have been proven wrong in actual practice or do not meet with changing realities. This is the only way to ensure that Marxism will keep abreast of social change and will serve to guide it.

B: This is the way to uphold and develop Marxism.

A: I hear that there are two views in theoretical circles about how to uphold and develop Marxism. One holds that we should "develop Marxism in the course of upholding it," and the other that we should "uphold Marxism in the course of developing it." Which do you think is more correct?

B: Oh, I cannot judge, nor can I explain these theories. However, the "Resolution" says: We must proceed from reality, uphold the criterion of practice, have the courage to jettison certain judgments and conclusions, and ensure that Marxism keeps abreast with social change and serves to guide it. "That is the way both to uphold Marxism and to develop it, the two being integrated in our practice of revolution and construction. It would be impossible to uphold Marxism if we reject the overriding importance of practice and the need to observe reality from a developmental perspective, and to bring out new ideas." The meaning of this passage is very clear.

A: I see. But isn't it also wrong to think Marxism is "outmoded"?

B: Of course it is. It is another wrong attitude to Marxism. A host of facts about social development in the last 150 years have proved that Marxism has a great vitality, and its basic theories and methods are not "outmoded." The fact that we have achieved success in construction and reform under the guidance of Marxism in the last few years also proves this point. It is unrealistic and wrong to think Marxism "outmoded." It is also wrong to blindly worship certain bourgeois philosophic and sociological doctrines.

A: I agree with you.

#### 16. To Invigorate Research of Marxist Theories

A: Socialist construction requires more vigorous theoretical research. May we discuss this question?

B: This is indeed an important one. Theory should guide practice. Currently, our practice in socialist construction is varied and colorful, but our theoretical research cannot really keep pace with practice.

A: It is true. Our social practice has put forward many new questions for theoretical research.

B: Our socialist undertakings are still in the process of emergence. Current reform is especially a complex and pioneering undertaking, for which there is no ready formula. In order to solve endless new problems, we must conduct bold exploration and free debates based on scientific research under the guidance of basic Marxist theories. If we dare not free ourselves from the conventions set by our predecessors, we are bound to mark time and accomplish nothing.

A: Then, let us boldly explore.

B: It is not that simple. Because of the erroneous practice of "taking class struggle as the key link" with the past, many theoretical workers still have a lingering fear of "being criticized" even today.

A: Our party has drawn this historical lesson, and the present situation is much better. The "Resolution" has reiterated that we must resolutely carry out the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend." The current environment is conducive to theoretical exploration and academic prosperity. The market for "destruction first" and "mass criticism leading the way" has become smaller and smaller. There have been more and more conditions for bold exploration.

B: Indeed.

A: I think that the following passage from the "Resolution" is very important: "In making policy decisions and formulating plans, we should observe the principle of democratic centralism. But when it comes to academic issues and those relating to the arts, we must abide by the principles of the Constitution and ensure academic freedom, freedom of creative writing, freedom of discussion, and freedom of criticism and counter-criticism." I understand that this passage contains the principles for dealing with two different situations. It is a summary of our historical experience. It will encourage theoretical workers to make bold explorative efforts and further invigorate theoretic research.

B: Are you saying that, in formulating, implementing, and publicizing policies and plans, we should observe discipline and the principle of democratic centralism while, in theoretical exploration, we should encourage free debate based on scientific research and let practice examine theory?

A: I think this is a good interpretation. In discussing theory, we should not allow the minority view to be subordinated to that of the majority; neither should we let one person have the final say. Theory should be verified in the course of practice. However, a policy or plan, being once adopted, must be implemented and, therefore, requires us to observe discipline in carrying it out. Nobody should be allowed to go his own way. The task of theoretical workers during the new historical period is to study new economic, political, cultural, and social circumstances and problems arising in China's construction and reform, and explore ways to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. At the same time, they should study new changes and social and ideological trends in the contemporary world, and critically assimilate and summarize new fruits of achievement in all sciences. In studying theory, we must jettison all those judgments and conclusions which have proved wrong in actual practice or are out of keeping with changing realities. Now that the "Resolution" has distinguished the two circumstances and encouraged and supported bold exploration and free discussion in scientific study, we should have no "lingering fears."

B: Certainly. We must create a democratic and harmonious atmosphere and promote stability and unity, so that science and culture can flourish and better serve the people.

#### 17. Study the Practical Significance of Marxism

A: The "Resolution" has repeatedly emphasized that Marxism is the guiding principle of the CPC, and that it is very important to study it. What is the practical significance of this emphasis?

B: I understand that the "Resolution" has set two different kinds of demand on cadres and young people. The "Resolution" says: "Party cadres, especially those in leading positions or in charge of ideological work, should take the lead in diligently studying Marxism."

A: It demands a great deal to take the lead in diligently studying Marxism.

B: Yes, indeed. But this is also the way it should be. Without diligently studying Marxism and undertaking its essence, it is impossible for party cadres in leading positions, or in charge of ideological work, to do a good job of work. Marxism is the guiding ideology of the CPC and the theoretical basis of all principles and policies. In building socialism with Chinese characteristics, we must apply the basic principles, stand, views, and methods of Marxism to the creative solution of new problems existing in social practice. In building spiritual civilization, we must

use Marxism as our guiding ideology in raising the people's ideological and ethical standards and developing education, science, and culture. It would be very difficult to accomplish our tasks without studying Marxism, understanding its essence, and grasping its stand, views, and methods.

A: Problems in the ideological field are rather complicated. For example, how do we handle such problems as "putting money above all else" and "putting power above all else," and how do we analyze and treat foreign and traditional culture? Without a basic assessment and correct analysis of these problems, how can builders of spiritual civilization embark on their journey?

B: That's right. Therefore, leading cadres and those in charge of ideological work must enrich their knowledge and familiarize themselves with the basic theory of Marxism; otherwise, without really understanding or diligently studying its essence, it is impossible for them to uphold, let alone develop, Marxism, even though they have verbally pledged to uphold and develop it.

A: Then, why is it necessary for young people to study Marxism, which seems unimportant to them?

B: The specific reasons for young people to study Marxism are not entirely the same as those for party member-cadres, but they are not "unimportant." Studying Marxism and understanding Marxist world outlook and the law governing social development can help young people foster scientific ideals, assume a correct attitude to life, and make better use of their talents to serve the socialist motherland. This is one reason. Second, because they are not cadres, they must be engaged in different trades and professions. Therefore, they will also face problems in understanding and implementing the situation and policies, which, without basic knowledge on Marxism, cannot be solved. Marxism is the core of the treasure-house of knowledge. In order to do a good job of work, young people must arm themselves with the theoretical weapon of Marxism. This is the personal experience of many successful young people.

A: I agree. But the methods of study can be flexible and diversified. It is important to study to achieve actual results instead of promoting formalism. Education in basic Marxist principles should be combined with that in the party's line, principles, and policies and the situation, with a study of historical, cultural, and scientific knowledge, and with the mental state of the people.

B: Right, that is the way it should be

#### 18. Strengthen Effective Supervision Over Leading Cadres

A: The "Resolution" calls for "effective supervision over leading cadres at all levels." I think that is very necessary. What do you think?

B: I think so too. The supervision our cadres now get is inadequate. It should be noted that the majority of our cadres have political consciousness and are hardworking. But even good cadres need effective supervision. Besides, fundamentally speaking, our party style has not changed for the better. Some cadres are too far behind in political awareness. They have acted against the party's purpose of serving the people by using the power in their hands for personal gain. Some have even blatantly trampled on party discipline and state law. One example is the case of He Yuantang, reported in the newspaper not too long ago. After being promoted to deputy secretary of the Changzhi City party committee, he acted immediately for personal gain by using his power to see that his children got party membership and promotion. He acted even on behalf of his eldest son, a gambler who should be punished according to law. Working through his connections, he forged evaluations and academic credentials for his son, who not only became a party member and cadre, but was appointed director of a factory. As a result, the factory, which had been an advanced enterprise year after year, was forced to close down. This shows that, despite some improvements, many flaws still exist in our cadre system. Particularly, there is a lack of effective supervision.

A: This He Yuantang was exposed and dismissed, wasn't he? Does this not demonstrate that the party's discipline inspection departments are exercising their supervision?

B: It does. Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party has summed up historical experience and established its discipline inspection commissions. They have contributed to rectifying party style and bringing party members into line with party discipline. However, judging from what we can see now, this is not enough. What the discipline inspection commissions do is to see whether a party member has violated party discipline, rather than exercising all-around and effective supervision over all cadres in accordance with law.

A: Then, what should be done to strengthen effective supervision over leading cadres?

B: It says in the "Resolution" that "we must therefore take vigorous measures to reform the party's organizational and work systems, strictly enforce its rules, and institute effective systems of internal and popular supervision." It is right that we cannot do without ideological education, but we must have a perfect system. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said it long ago: "To overcome the special privilege phenomenon, it is necessary to solve the ideological problems as well as problems in systems." Without fairly strict organizational work and supervision systems, it will be impossible to effectively stop the cadres from abusing power. In this case, there will inevitably emerge a phenomenon long predicted by modern Western rationalist scholars that "unrestrained power leads to corruption."

A: Can you be more specific?

B: As far as organizational and work systems are concerned, the cadre selection, appointment, evaluation, and promotion systems, for instance, need to be perfected.

A: What about the system of supervision?

B: This system involves internal and popular supervision. First, it is necessary to establish and perfect the internal monitor system. The party's supervisory and discipline inspection departments should be given full scope to play their role. All party members are equal before party rules, and will be handled accordingly when violating them. We should promote fine conduct within the party, in which no one practices favoritism and each party member is a watchdog to the other. Second, it is necessary to establish and perfect a system for popular supervision. This system will include legal guarantees, the Supervisory role of the press, and public opinion. Moreover, the role of the NPC, CPPCC, and other organizations should be given play so that the masses of the people really exercise their democratic rights and act as supervisors to the "servants of the people."

A: This is the way it should be.

#### 19. Party Members' Duty in Building Spiritual Civilization

A: The "Resolution" talks about the guiding principles for building socialist spiritual civilization. How do these guiding principles concern party members not assuming a leading position?

B: They do concern them. The "Resolution" clearly points out: "In building a spiritual civilization, party organizations at all levels, and their members, are duty-bound, first to try to raise their own ideological level and, in particular, to improve the work style of the party; and second, to work hard and set a good example, thus helping to mobilize the people and advance the society-wide effort to build spiritual civilization." This is a requirement for all party members. Party members not assuming a leading position should primarily strive to raise their own political and ideological consciousness, upgrade their educational level, acquire scientific knowledge, and improve the work style of the party and should, secondly, play an exemplary vanguard role and use their outstanding work achievements to advance the building of spiritual civilization.

A: Please be more specific.

B: The "Resolution" is quite specific about this. It says: Party members "should always set an example for the masses by working diligently and being eager to learn and make progress, by renouncing self-interest in favor of practical work, by devoting themselves to the reform programme and daring to innovate, by safeguarding the people's interests and leading them to prosperity through honest labor, by observing law and discipline, opposing malpractices of any kind, and fighting against crime. In a word,



they should make themselves models in the nation's effort to build spiritual civilization."

A: It is not easy to be a model in all these aspects. It is also not easy to lead the masses to prosperity through honest labor, because this is a novelty. If something goes wrong, people may call party members "a big uncle who pretends to be rich"; others may even ask, how can party members "take the lead in making money?"

B: Yes. Some party members in rural areas are afraid to boldly lead the masses to prosperity through honest labor. On the one hand, this is because the long-standing influence of the ideology that "poverty calls for transformation, transformation leads to prosperity, and prosperity leads to revisionism" has not been eliminated; on the other hand, contemporary party members are asked to abide by the specific requirements suitable for the war years and revolutionary period, and party members tend to think that they should not be associated with "making money" and that "money-making" is unbecoming. They don't realize that the party's goals are not the same in different historical periods. This is true in regard to the specific requirements for party members. During the revolutionary war years, party members were asked to sacrifice their lives in removing the "three great mountains" which weighed on the backs of the Chinese people--imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism; in the period of construction, party members should, if necessary, boldly step forward to make sacrifices in developing the socialist productive forces, but in time of peace, the main role of party members is to take the lead in carrying out construction. As we are trying to develop the productive forces in rural areas, party members should lead the masses in "eliminating poverty" and transforming hardship and backwardness in the countryside. In this way both party members and the masses will prosper. It is glorious to be a "model in leading the masses to prosperity through honest labor," because it shows that one is an advanced element in economic construction.

A: To be a model in "being eager to learn and make progress" is also a new requirement.

B: We can say party members should be educated, advanced elements among the masses. This is a contemporary requirement, and party members should never take pride in being "illiterate." Without education, it is impossible to achieve socialist modernization. The fundamental task in building spiritual civilization is to raise the ideological, moral, scientific, and educational level of the whole nation and train its people to become socialist citizens, cherishing lofty ideals and moral integrity and being better educated and observing discipline. Communists can never succeed in leading the masses to achieving this goal, unless they heighten their own scientific and educational level. As early as the eve of the founding of New China, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: Not only must we be good at destroying the old world, but we must also be good at building the new. Party members should understand that being eager to

learn is their historical task. Not only should communists become models for the masses in the field of ideology and moral integrity, but they must also take the lead in acquiring knowledge and in studying science.

## 20. Responsibilities of Party Organizations in the Building of Spiritual Civilization

A: Party organizations have heavy responsibilities in building spiritual civilization.

B: Indeed. The building of spiritual civilization is a long-term and grand construction task for the whole party and people throughout the country. In the course of accomplishing the task, party organizations shoulder important responsibilities. In this respect, the "Resolution" says: "A fresh problem facing the whole party under the new circumstances is how to ensure that efforts are made to build both spiritual and material civilization simultaneously. All party organizations, from the central level to the grassroots, must devote more time and energy to leading the work of building spiritual civilization. They should explore effective methods, study policies and organize and coordinate the efforts of all quarters. It won't be enough to go through the motions. What is needed is solid work." To lead the work of building spiritual civilization well under the new circumstances is indeed a fresh task.

A: However, some party organizations usually rely on such means as holding study sessions, meetings, discussions, or private talks.

B: We shall continue to use these methods, but we must also devise many new methods of doing solid work. We also need to improve our methods for conducting thorough investigations to find out the actual situation, so that meetings and discussions yield real results. We should not merely keep bustling about, nor should we be content that the resolution has been conveyed to the people and discussed by them, while actual problems have not been solved.

A: You are right. The same is true for ideological and political work.

B: Certainly. Ideological and political work is an effective guarantee for economic and other work, including that of building spiritual civilization. We should carry out meticulous ideological and political work to unify people's thinking and ensure the completion of the party's tasks. Our party has such a tradition. Now, we need to sum up and popularize new experiences and strive to explore a new way for ideological and political work in the new period, in order to meet fresh circumstances.

A: Take the study of documents for instance. Our workers today are educated and can read. We should change the old practice of having someone read something to a group of people.

B: Yes, we must use proper methods. We should not demand uniformity in study, as long as the results are good. If people can study the documents by themselves, let them do so. If they want to attend a reading session, they may come to it. In Shanghai, some organizations are doing a good job in book-reading activities. They have always promoted the study of theory and policies by relying on book-reading activists. Such new experiences and effective methods may be popularized in the building of spiritual civilization. There are many good ways of raising people's political consciousness.

A: Some party members holding leading administrative posts are not paying sufficient attention to ideological work. They don't think that it is their duty to do such work.

B: They are indeed very busy, but they should not think this way. Party members should play an exemplary vanguard role in the building of spiritual civilization. They should implement the party's resolutions and learn how to do ideological work among the people. It is their duty to do so.

A: Are you saying that all cadres should do ideological work, no matter what post they are holding?

B: Yes. Leading cadres should not only do their own jobs well. They should constantly go among the masses and discuss with them how to solve various ideological and other problems people are generally concerned about. Otherwise, it will be hard for them to do their own jobs well. An industrial enterprise, should improve its rules and regulations, pay attention to management, and bring into play the functions of its departments. At the same time, we should not abandon the fine tradition of ideological and political work. A plant director or manager will not do a good job if he does not make a little "friendship investment," or fails to exchange ideological views with the workers.

A: Do the cadres of the ideological and political work department shoulder an even harder task?

B: Yes. Party organizations should give even greater attention and assistance to these cadres. They display tremendous enthusiasm, but some of them still lack effective working methods under the new circumstances. Party organizations should encourage and support their new attempts and practices. We should create necessary conditions for them to study Marxist theories and the party's principles and policies well, to acquire the necessary knowledge, and to constantly raise their ideological level and improve their job skills. We should strive to build a good ideological and political work force. In this way, these cadres will surely display even greater enthusiasm for serving the masses, actively do their work well, and make ideological and political work yield the best results.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

NEW CHARACTERISTICS OF GRAFT DESCRIBED

Shanghai ZHENGZHI YU FALU [POLITICS AND LAW] in Chinese No 3, Jun 86 pp 39-41

[Article by Wang Yongchang [3769 3057 2490]: "New Characteristics of Graft"]

[Excerpts] Current textbooks usually summarize the methods of graft as falsifying and altering bills and receipts, inflating transport and business travel expenses, and embezzling. We can call them traditional methods of graft. However, with the progress of economic reform, the methods have also changed, and some new ones have emerged. They are mainly as follows: 1) graft by means of economic contracts; 2) kickbacks; and 3) bonuses. The new methods are more deceptive and covert than the traditional ones. They often appear to be legitimate in form, making it difficult for judicial organs to ascertain the true and the false. Therefore, it is necessary to study them.

1. Graft by Means of Economic Contracts

To start with, the economic contract serves as the tool for legal persons to pursue production, distribution and exchange of material means in operation and management. Normally it should have no connection with graft, but actually it is otherwise. In terms of today's practice, criminals utilize it not only for such acts as swindling, speculating and profiteering, and accepting bribes, but also for graft

We must make a clear distinction between graft and swindling by means of contracts. Their main distinctions are: 1) The subject of the former has to be a legal representative or commissioned agent of a legal person, and the legal person represented has to be in existence, while the subject of the latter is not necessarily a legal representative or commissioned agent of a legal person, and can be anyone, and the legal person supposedly represented is not necessarily in existence. 2) The contract utilized in the former is genuine, but the actor practices fraud in individual clauses of the contract, while the contract utilized in the latter is totally false and unenforceable. 3) What is taken by graft is public money under the control of the actor within his sphere of functions, except that the money is diverted through the contract, while what is taken by swindle is someone else's money and is acquired directly by fraud, needing no diversion.

## 2. Graft by Means of Kickbacks

Kickbacks are a new means of graft emerging with the progress of today's economic reform. It is an act whereby leaders and purchasing and marketing personnel of an enterprise and others commissioned by the enterprise act in collusion and, under the pretext of sales commissions in products marketing, raw material purchasing or job contracting, turn public money into kickbacks and share it among themselves.

## 3. Graft by Means of Bonuses

On the surface, bonuses and graft seem to be totally unrelated, the former being a material reward and an honor to those making important contributions in labor, while the latter is an act of taking public property and is a crime. Nevertheless, grafters seize every opportunity to do evil and, utilizing the loopholes in the bonus system, make it into a tool of crimes.

Graft by means of bonuses is an act where the leaders and other personnel of an enterprise act in collusion and, utilizing their functions, convert public money into "bonuses" and share it among themselves.

The foregoing analysis shows that the methods of graft described above have two common characteristics: 1) Most crimes of graft by the new methods are conspiracies. Whether by means of contracts, bonuses or kickbacks, "coordination" between parties is indispensable, as it is difficult to commit the crime unilaterally. In graft by means of contracts, for instance, both parties to the contract have to be in on it; in graft by means of kickbacks, plotting with middlemen and purchasing personnel is indispensable; in graft by means of bonuses, other members of the enterprise have to be involved. This point distinguishes the new methods from the traditional ones. While graft by traditional means also emerge in the form of conspiracies, more often it does not. 2) Most crimes of graft by the new methods are protected by a cloak of legitimacy. Signing contracts and issuing bonuses, for instance, are normally legitimate matters, but criminals utilize the legitimacy to conceal their criminal act, thus making it very difficult for judicial organs to detect and determine the wrongdoing. This is another point distinguishing the new methods from the traditional ones. Most crimes of graft by traditional methods are fairly easy to detect and, once the act of graft is uncovered, its nature can be promptly ascertained. Therefore, when handling crimes of graft, we must make a clear distinction between what is criminal and what is not.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

REASONS FOR SCHOOL DROPOUTS ANALYZED

Beijing JIAOYU YANJIU [EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 7, Jul 86 pp 26-29, 15

[Article by Liang Haoqing [2733 3185 3237] and Chen Nanjin [7115 0589 6651]: "Problems in Educational Thinking as Seen from a Survey of School Dropouts"]

[Excerpts] The large school dropouts in recent years have become a major concern in society. From the phenomenon of dropouts, one can see all kinds of flaws in the educational system and thinking. According to statistics of Wuxi city's educational branch, in the 1984-1985 school year, dropouts in the 50-plus urban middle schools totaled 1,342 (119 senior and 1,223 junior middle school students), equivalent to the enrollment of a middle school. By the end of February, in the one semester in the current school year, middle and elementary school dropouts throughout the city (including counties) exceeded 5,000, including over 400 from urban middle schools. The reasons for the numerous dropouts are diverse. Students quit school because of the school as well as society, and because of teachers as well as themselves. Nevertheless, after investigation and study in a recent period, we find that the cause, rather than external is mainly within education itself.

II. Large dropouts are a symptom of the flawed educational system.

Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out in his "Report on the Seventh 5-Year Plan": "In China's reform, the disappearance of the old system and the formation of the new one can only be gradual, and both need time. Reform is bound to be a gradual process." Currently, the changeover to the new educational system is likewise formidable and complex. In the course of its gradual fade-out, the old system will continue to exert an influence and manifest its flaws, and the large number of dropouts is precisely one of the manifestations.

1. Weak Basic Education. In terms of Wuxi, there has long been the tendency of stressing production and neglecting education in urban construction, resulting in insufficient funds and incomplete facilities for basic education, disproportion in teacher assignment, and wide gaps in the levels of teaching among schools. As the conditions of some schools are backward and their teaching level relatively poor, some parents are reluctant to enroll their children. The source of students and that of teachers form a vicious circle. Though the situation has somewhat improved in recent years, as the arrears are



large, there can be no overnight transformation. The slow growth of teacher education, the base of educational work, the reluctance of superior middle school graduates to enter teachers colleges, and the shortage of teachers have become a worrisome issue. The weak basic education objectively affects the improvement of the quality of education.

2. Disconnection of Middle and Elementary Schools. On the problem of dropouts, junior middle teachers mostly blame elementary school teachers for shifting the "burden" (unqualified and poor students) to them; the latter criticize the former for ignoring poor students and permitting them to self-eliminate (by repeating grades or quitting). Some people advocate the "9-year straight-through system" as the solution to the conflict. Rather than elementary schools, the serious disconnection between middle and elementary school systems is mainly caused by the failure of middle schools to adapt to the reform of the educational system. Entrance examinations for elementary schools have been abolished, and children attend schools nearby, but middle schools, instead of introducing commensurate system reforms, continue to follow the old practice, especially key junior schools, which remain the goal for elementary school students and serve as the baton of elementary education, thereby lessening the actual impact of the reform of elementary education. The methods of management are also maladjusted. Entering junior middle school, elementary school graduates are unable to adjust promptly to its management methods and academic life, and some of them fail to keep up. Short of starting the "surgery" by dovetailing middle and elementary school systems, even if we resort to the means of computing the "four rates" (attendance, consolidation, examination passing, and graduation), it will be difficult to control dropouts. Tending to stress the rates of examination passing, graduation, and advancement to schools of a higher level, in order to demonstrate their efficiency to society and the higher level, the schools will never sacrifice these "three rates" to compete in the consolidation rate. Even if the provision on dismissal upon repeating grades twice in succession is liberalized, it will not control dropouts. Schools report that, after students repeat grades twice in a row, few parents request that they be permitted to remain.

3. "Uniformity" in Teaching. Today, middle and elementary schools offer uniform curriculums, use uniform texts, and follow uniform progress requirements, observing the teaching programs transmitted level by level, and increasing the burden on students. Especially in junior middle schools, as the texts tend to be too difficult, the teaching methods are usually "classroom inculcation" and "exercise battles," intellectual development is overlooked, and some students with poor foundations encounter numerous difficulties. "Uniformity" is also detrimental to the development of some students. Currently, schools mainly rely on examination grades to eliminate students, and reject those poor in abstract thinking but strong in manual dexterity from the ranks of talented children. According to our study of a number of schools, most of the dropouts do not lack intelligence. Aside from those whose conduct and habits are comparatively poor, many are deeply interested in painting and handicraft. After going to work, some of them have gradually manifested their talent. A second year student in a certain junior middle school, for instance, was known as "old repeat," but he was extremely interested in painting. After dropping out of school this year, he earned

money by painting and demonstrated his skill. The current curriculum and methods of examination fail to adapt to the developmental needs of some students, and many have been expelled from school because of the "uniform" examinations. It is most unfortunate.

III. Large numbers of dropouts are a reflection of the quality of teachers.

The problem of dropouts also indirectly reflects the quality of today's teachers. As a whole, the teaching contingents are good. The campaign to be "worthy of the name of teacher" launched in recent years has produced a healthy impact on quality improvement, but it must not be overestimated. In terms of the magnificent goal and requirements of popularizing the 9-year compulsory education, many incompatibilities are still found among teachers in general education. The following are the salient points:

1. Incorrect Educational Thinking. Teachers have no adequate understanding of the principle that basic education is for the purpose of improving the quality of the nation as a whole and training personnel for the "four modernizations." Many of them still think of providing schools of a higher level with students as the only goal of basic education, thereby producing the phenomenon of blind pursuit of the rate of advancement to schools of a higher level. In the course of education, priority is given to intellectual development over the ethical, physical and aesthetic aspects; to the teaching of knowledge over the growth of the mind; and to the minority of "top students" over the majority. The methods of teaching consist of "classroom inculcation," "force-feeding," "tactic of themes," "mass training," "enhancing the difficulty step by step," and so forth.

Students with a poor foundation moan and groan constantly, sitting there and wasting time, and the gaps between low and high achievements grow ever wider.

2. Unsettled in Educational Work. This problem has first been reflected in some newly graduated and assigned young teachers in recent years. Feeling wronged to be assigned as a middle school teacher after finishing college, some of them have no strong dedication or sense of responsibility, treat their work with indifference, and always try to create conditions to leave this "hardship unit," thereby harming the students.

Moreover, many teachers are reluctant to serve as class chairman, and not many among the current class chairmen have the desire to perform their work properly, thereby overlooking ideological work on the students and weakening class management work.

The problem has its policy reasons. As evaluation of work performance and selection of special-grade teachers tend to stress academic record and professional ability, serving as class chairman becomes a "thankless" job. Though a class chairman receives an allowance, it is not as rewarding as studying one's profession or doing outside teaching. According to our survey, the fairly large dropout rate of some classes has a definite link with the class chairmen's ideological understanding and work attitude.

3. Lack of Dedication. Today, the general feeling is that students must be cherished, but emotionally, teachers favor good students and dislike the poor ones. Especially when it comes to students with undesirable conduct and habits and eccentricities: They yearn for warmth from family and society, but the warmth of "teacher's love" is never spread to them. Some teachers often ridicule those with flaws, and even resort to simplistic and crude ways in their handling. Lacking a deep understanding of the physiological and psychological changes in middle and elementary school students under the socialist commodity economy, some teachers fail to render correct ideological guidance on conduct resulting from precocity, concentrate on reprimanding, and arouse antagonism. Such inappropriate methods of education found among teachers constitute an important factor for the small number of students who have given themselves up as hopeless.

In addition, there are also teachers who regard backward students as "burdens" and deliberately force them to repeat grades or drop out. Some resort to point deduction to make things difficult. To force a poor student to transfer to another school, the second-year class chairman of a certain school, for instance, arranged with other teachers to hold down his grades at 59 points at semester finals, and told him that, if he transferred to another school, he would be permitted to advance to a higher grade and receive a more favorable comment on his work. The student had no alternative but to transfer. Some teachers resort to hinting to urge poor students to quit school. After two junior middle second-year class chairmen of another school, for instance, asked the poor students, "With grades like yours, you still want to continue?", 17 students of the 2 classes left all at once. In the survey, a principal told us: "If all class chairmen can be like Yang Ruihua [2799 3843 5478] (outstanding class chairman) and stress pulling in regard to students who can be pushed or pulled, at least one-third of the dropouts would not have quit school."

4. Wide Disparities between Teaching Levels. Today, there are relatively wide disparities between the teaching levels among Wuxi's teachers, and the numbers of junior middle first- and second-year students repeating grades or dropping out due to failing mathematics and foreign languages are relatively large. It shows that some teachers have indeed done harm to the younger generation.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

REFORM OF COLLEGE FINANCIAL AID SYSTEM DISCUSSED

Beijing LIAOWANG OVERSEAS EDITION in Chinese No 33, 18 Aug 86 pp 16-17

[Article by Li Yongzeng [2621 3057 1073]: "An Important Reform in China's Higher Education"]

[Excerpts] Scholarships Instead of Grants-in-Aid

To rectify the various abuses in the current grant-in-aid system, many colleges and universities in various areas throughout China have launched experimental projects. Generally they consist of four types.

1. Grants-in-aid supplemented by scholarships. The former constitutes 90 percent and the latter around 10 percent, mainly introduced in engineering colleges and comprehensive universities.
2. Grant-in-aid and scholarship, at 50 percent each. Most schools in Shanghai follow this measure.
3. Scholarship plus fixed-term or indefinite need subsidy, at 50 percent each. Shanghai and Xiamen Universities, for instance, have introduced this measure on new students entering school in 1985.
4. Scholarship plus loan. The Shanghai Traditional Medicine College and Fuzhou University have started the measure with new students entering school in 1985.

As proved by practice, the more thorough the reform of the current grant-in-aid system, the more conducive it is to raising students' enthusiasm in studying and training personnel. Finally, the government has selected a reform program on scholarship plus loan. In the program, scholarships are divided into three kinds.

1. Outstanding Students' Scholarship. Used for encouraging all-around students with moral, intellectual and physical development, the scholarship closely links material reward with personnel training. Class 1 scholarship is 350 yuan per annum per person, Class 2, 250 yuan, and Class 3, 150 yuan. It is awarded to 25 percent of the total number of students.

2. Specialization Scholarship. It is awarded to students entering the fields of teaching, agriculture and forestry, physical education, nationalities studies, and navigation. Mainly in consideration of the large need for such personnel, the scholarship is offered as a special support. It is indeed highly attractive to students whose families are not well-to-do. According to the provisions, beginning in the first year, all students majoring in such fields will receive 300 yuan per annum per person; thereafter, a small number of outstanding students will enjoy a larger amount.

3. Directional Scholarship. It is awarded to students determined to accept hardship posts upon graduation, including frontier regions, poor areas, and such difficult fields as coal, petroleum, geology, mining, and water conservation.

Obviously, the three kinds of scholarships are fundamentally different in nature from the previous grants-in-aid. The comparison can be seen at a glance. The former totally embody the state's demand, hope and encouragement of students and indicate a definite purpose, while the latter is "large rice bowl," fostering the lazy and ignoring the assiduous.

#### Bank Loan Instead of Subsidy

According to the provisions, scholarships are awarded to only one-fourth of the students. In terms of the large percentage without scholarships, do their families have the ability to provide living expenses to their children while in school? For this reason, the pertinent department made a preliminary survey of the students' origins and living expenses.

From 1977 to 1980, when the system of examinations for colleges and universities was gradually reinstated, the majority of students came from cities. Since 1981, the proportion of rural students has continuously increased. According to a sample survey, the proportion of students from rural areas in 1985 rose to 57 percent of all students. It shows the basic tendency in the origin structure of students in colleges and universities.

With the progress of economic reform, urban and rural living standards have generally improved, and the financial conditions of students' families have significantly changed. According to the survey, rural students having financial difficulties constitute only 30 percent of all students.

The situation can be analyzed as follows: On the one hand, as 70 percent of student families have the capacity to provide living expenses to their children while in school, the conditions are ripe for the abolition of grants-in-aid. On the other hand, a small percentage of students is still experiencing difficulties. By the reform program, it is hoped that students with difficulties will first strive to win scholarships, with bank loans as the second source, thereby guaranteeing the college education of students from low-income families.

The low-interest loan issued by the China Industrial and Commercial Bank is limited to 300 yuan per annum per person. After graduation, the work unit of

the debtor student repays the loan in full and thereafter makes monthly deductions from his wages.

However, if a debtor student, after graduating, is willing to teach in middle and elementary schools, go to frontier, impoverished, or minority regions, or accept work in relatively difficult fields in basic units, and sign up for at least 5 years, upon investigation and approval by the school, the loan may be cancelled. It is clearly another measure of encouragement.

To act cautiously, the reform will first be introduced this year in experimental units in 85 colleges and universities throughout the country.

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4 December 1986

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

## SHORTAGE OF MIDDLE SCHOOL TEACHERS DISCUSSED

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 26 Aug 86 p 1

[Article by Jin Ge [6855 2047]: "Do Not 'Cut Out a Piece of Flesh to Mend a Boil'"]

[Text] Recently I received a letter from a teacher which reads: "I was formerly an elementary school teacher. Not long ago I was transferred to teach in a middle school. In the eyes of some people, the promotion was all that one could wish for. However, as far as I am concerned, instead of a blessing, I find it a heavy burden; suffering an indescribable pain, I truly feel that my ability is not equal to the task. Not only are there numerous complaints among the students, but I also am deeply ashamed. Elementary school is where I am well suited, and I urgently hope that I can return to my former post on an early date."

To some people, the promotion from an elementary school teacher to a middle school teacher is indeed a rare occurrence. Nevertheless, not only not regarding it as a blessing, this teacher made a sincere appeal to return to the elementary school. I am filled with admiration and deeply moved by his conscientiousness, attention to actual benefit, and spirit of rejecting undeserved honor. I cannot but ponder.

"Ancient scholars always had teachers," Teachers are indispensable to education. In terms of present conditions, middle school teachers are deficient in both quality and number. To popularize the 9-year compulsory education, doing everything possible to solve the shortage of middle school teachers, is not only imperative, but also urgent. However, transferring elementary school teachers to middle schools is very inadvisable and should not be included among "doing everything possible," because the practice is no different from "cutting out a piece of flesh to mend a boil." Not only will the "boil" not mend, but we may end up with an unsound "body" and a new scar. Instead of strengthening the middle school teaching contingent, it will undermine the elementary school teaching ranks, weaken the firm foundation of education as a whole, and create a vicious circle. It will be the same as "taking away firewood from under the cauldron." Thus, with all the drawbacks but not one advantage, forcing elementary school teachers to teach in middle schools is obviously not the best way.

In developing education, we once had the bitter lesson of "malnutrition" which resulted in "bloating." Instead of developing education, we planted hidden troubles. The lesson remains vivid in our minds. Unfortunately, some comrades are very forgetful and have not gained wisdom from the lesson. Thus, they suffer relapses and take the same disastrous road. Carefully pondering the cause of their malady, I find that it is no other than blind competition and pursuit of quotas and speed in disregard of objective conditions and actual results. Thereupon, I feel that the higher level should refrain from issuing arbitrary quotas with no consideration of actual conditions and compelling the lower level to fulfill them, and the latter should not, for the purpose of satisfying the higher level, force themselves to do what is obviously impossible. By so doing, the malady can be prevented.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

## FORUM ON LEADING GROUPS OF COLLEGES, INSTITUTES HELD

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 16 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by Li Xun [2621 3169]: "Forum on Strengthening Leading Groups of Institutions of Higher Learning and Research Institutes Held in Beijing"]

[Text] A forum on strengthening the leading groups of institutions of higher learning and research institutes throughout the nation called jointly by the Central Organization Department, State Education Commission, State Science and Technology Commission and the State Council's science and technology leading group office was held in Beijing on 11 September.

Central Organization Department director Wei Jianxing [1414 0256 5887] relayed the Central Secretariat's important instructions on leading groups of institutions of higher learning and research institutes, and expressed his opinion on their implementation.

Deputy party secretary and vice minister Yang Haibo [2799 3189 3134] of the State Education Commission declared in his speech: The central leaders' important instructions profoundly expounded the important strategic significance of strengthening the leading groups of institutions of higher learning, incisively pointed out today's main problems, and clearly proposed the methods and paths of their solution. They propel us forward. We must understand their essence thoroughly, reinforce the macroscopic management of the work to strengthen the leading groups of institutions of higher learning throughout the country, coordinate with the Central Organization Department and, together with party committees of the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government, and the departments and commissions of the State Council, earnestly perform the work.

He said: Since 1983, the leading groups of most institutions of higher learning throughout the country have undergone two successive readjustments. The number of cadres fulfilling the "four requirements" has grown significantly, lowering the average age from 60 to 51.9, raising the proportion of those of college and university level from 58.8 percent to 88.5 percent, reducing the average number of personnel from 7 to 5, and basically solving the historical problems of discord in most units. The "three categories of undesirables" and those with serious problems have been purged or reorganized, and most leading groups have made achievements. However, many

problems still remain, and the most salient are: A considerable number of the leading groups of institutions of higher learning is unsound, especially the fairly large vacancies of party secretaries and school principals; the leading groups of some few institutions have rather large numbers of problems, and their chaotic management makes it difficult for their work to progress normally.

Yang Hainuo enumerated the reasons for the problems discussed above: the inadequate understanding of the importance of strengthening the leading groups of institutions of higher learning; bureaucratism found in some departments in charge; lack of channels to discover competent persons, and timidity in employing them; departmental ownership, severance of the vertical and the horizontal, and maladjustment of the leading and management systems; lack of mutual respect between the two sides of schools under "double management," leading to long-pending problems of vacancies.

Yang Hainuo suggested that party committees of the various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities coordinate closely with the various pertinent departments and commissions and, in line with the essence of the central leaders' instructions and in accordance with the jurisdictional relations, ask the departments in charge to list the names of schools and fulfill the leading responsibilities, request the organization, cadre, and education management departments to send able cadres to the schools and help with the work, assign some of the party secretaries and principals, and reorganize and readjust within a time limit the leading groups with fairly large numbers of problems.

Party Secretary and vice minister He Dongchang [0149 2639 2490] of the State Education Commission and vice minister Guo Shuyan [6753 2885 6056] of the State Science and Technology Commission and State Council's Science and Technology Office attended the forum.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

TRAINING FOR MID-, HIGH-LEVEL LEADING CADRES

Hong Kong LIAOWANG OVERSEAS EDITION, in Chinese No 33, 18 Aug 86 p 6

[Article by staff reporter: "China Is Devoting Major Efforts to the Training of Middle- and High-level Leading Cadres"]

[Excerpts] Not long ago I learned from the departments concerned that beginning the Seventh 5-year Plan, China's cadre education will focus mainly on party and government leading and reserve cadres at and above the county level. For this, the central government will sponsor study classes for governors, ministers, and mayors and train the alternate members of the CPC Central Committee in groups. At the same time, efforts will be made to strengthen on-the-job professional training for cadres, set training goals in accordance with the professional requirements of their positions, conduct directional training, and issue, through examination, "certificates of professional qualifications" which will be considered as an requirement for the appointment of leading cadres.

The purpose in conducting this series of training and education is to improve the quality of the contingents of mid- and high-level cadres, overcome bureaucracy, stop unhealthy tendencies, increase work efficiency, and enable them to shoulder the heavy burden of carrying out the great cause of the four modernizations ideologically and organizationally. People think that this is a measure of strategic significance adopted by China to suit the new situation of reform and opening up, indicating that China's cadre education has embarked on the road toward standardization and systemization.

I. Following the Third Plenum of the CPC Central Committee, in accordance with the cadre's requirements of being revolutionary, young, educated, and professionally competent, and in order to meet the needs of socialist modernization, leading bodies at all levels across the nation underwent great readjustment, a million old cadres withdrew to second and third lines, and a large number of middle-aged and young cadres were promoted to leading positions at and above the county level. After the readjustment, the average age of the members and alternate members of the CPC Central Committee declined by 4 years. The average age of full-time leading cadres of departments under the State Council declined by 5 years. Over 70 percent of them have a college degree. Promising changes have taken place in the contingent of cadres, but, subsequently, some new problems have also cropped up. Some cadres lack the

Basic knowledge of Marxism and Leninism, some are backward in regard to overall leadership and management ability, and some need to update their professional skills and knowhow. Because of this, the training and education of cadres become even more important and urgent. At the end of 1984, the CPC Central Committee officially approved the establishment of the central leading group for cadres' education work and all provincial, municipal, and autonomous regional CPC committees also established corresponding leading groups for cadres' education work to take charge of work in this regard.

II. In the wake of the founding of new China, cadres went through the "all-staff training." In addition to major efforts to encourage and organize cadres to study at their posts, many young cadres were transferred to study at institutions of higher education. Unfortunately, since the late 1950's, due to the "leftist" errors committed by the party in overall guiding ideology, cadres' education work also derailed, the content of education became increasingly limited, and the educational front became smaller and smaller. Especially during the "10-years of civil strife," the situation deteriorated to such a degree that cadre education was cancelled. According to statistics compiled in 1978, half of the nation's over 17 million cadres only had the education level equivalent to and lower than that of middle school.

Following the Third Plenum of the CPC Central Committee, the work focus of the party and state was shifted to the economic construction of modernization and Deng Xiaoping promptly suggested that the party needed to renew its efforts to study--studying economics, science and technology, and management--and that hundreds of members of the CPC Central Committee and thousands of high-level cadres of central and local organs needed to take the lead in studying the economic construction of modernization. Since then, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council have conducted much research on cadres' education work and made a series of directives and regulations concerning cadres' education work for the new period. In the past few years, the departments concerned including the organization and propaganda departments of the CPC Central Committee and the Ministry of Education jointly sponsored a national work conference on cadres' education work to help cadres' education work develop toward standardization.

III. After several years of efforts by all fields, three major changes have taken place in the cadre education of China.

1. With regard to the content of education, training which focuses mainly on Marxist and Leninist theories and party principles and policies has been replaced by training which focuses on a variety of subjects including Marxist and Leninist theories, party principles and policies, cultural and scientific knowledge, and professional knowhow. Since 1980, a total of over 2 million cadres have gone through training in groups at different times sponsored by party organs at all levels. Intellectual forums on new technological revolution sponsored by six departments including the organization department of the CPC Central Committee have promoted the study of modern science and technology and management knowhow by mid- and high-level cadres. In light of their actual needs, the agricultural, animal husbandry, fishery, industrial, communications, financial, trade, political, and judicial fronts throughout the country have also conducted vocational training for high-level leading



cadres; the State Economic Commission has organized examinations for factory directors and managers. Through these measures, cadres' managerial and vocational levels have been raised to varying degrees.

2. With regard to the targets of training, in addition to emphasizing the training of mid- and high-level party and government leading cadres, all-staff training for cadres of all categories at all levels has also been conducted. Between 1979 and 1985, a total of over 6.9 million cadres went through training and rotational training of different forms and content in China.

3. With regard to the methods of training, reliance mainly on party and cadre schools has been developed to reliance on socialized methods to run schools through multiple channels, in varied forms, and in both centralized and decentralized manners. In 1985, over 11,000 party schools and various kinds of cadre schools, institutions of higher education, and secondary vocational schools across the nation took on the task of cadre training. At the same time, socialized forms such as broadcasting and television programs, correspondence schools, sparetime schools, day schools, and independent study examinations became fundamental ways to train cadres. According to statistics compiled in January 1985, approximately 480,000 cadres had attended the 13 vocational courses offered by the broadcasting and television university; 200,000 cadres had taken independent study examinations for higher education; 380 institutions of higher education offered college courses through correspondence, attracting 210,000 cadre-students; the central agricultural broadcasting school established branches or teaching networks in 24 provinces and municipalities and over 2,000 counties (and farms), attracting over 110,000 rural cadres to study.

Large-scale and standard cadre training has enabled the political quality, educational level, and professional skills of the contingent of cadres to improve extensively. By the end of 1985, about 45.6 percent of the nation's cadre contingent had the educational level of high schools and secondary vocational schools; 21.9 percent had an educational level equivalent to or higher than that of colleges. According to an estimate based on the findings of sample surveys conducted by the departments concerned in close to 1,000 administrative organs, establishments, and enterprises, only 23.8 percent of all cadres across the country under the age of 45 have an educational level equivalent to or lower than that of middle schools.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

SYSTEMATIC TRAINING FOR LEADERS OF LARGE ENTERPRISES

Hong Kong LIAOWANG OVERSEAS EDITION in Chinese No 33, 18 Aug 86 pp 7-8

[Article by Yang Yuanhu [2799 6678 5706]: "Leaders of Large and Medium-sized Enterprises Receive Systematic Training"]

[Excerpts] Over 340 factory directors of large and medium-sized enterprises from Beijing, Guangxi, Guizhou, Henan, Shanxi, Nei Monggol, Shaanxi, Gansu, Qinghai, and Xinjiang were surveyed at the end of 1985 and the beginning of 1986. To the questions of "what kind of work do you like most" and "what kind of work do you dislike most," they answered almost unanimously: I like vocational and technical work the best and dislike personnel work the most.

After these factory directors attended a study class on the modernization of enterprise management, which lasted for 4 and one-half months, for factory directors (and managers) of large and medium-sized enterprises, they had a new view on the survey questions. They all think that factories should establish a management system focusing on personnel and that as the organizers and commanders of enterprises, factory directors should arouse the enthusiasm of the broad masses of staff and workers and play the role of coagulative and centripetal forces. They think that to push enterprises forward, the primary task is to do a good job in personnel work.

The differing views that these factory directors had before and after the classes are quite typical among the leading cadres of large and medium-sized enterprises in China. The factory director (and manager) study classes they attended are 6 of 34 experimental classes sponsored in different groups by the State Economic Commission in the second half of 1985 and the first half of 1986. Studying at these experimental classes were factory directors, chief engineers, chief economists, chief accountants, and secretaries of party committees from large and medium-sized enterprises, totalling 1,485 people. This is the beginning of systematic training on modern management sponsored by the State Economic Commission for the leading cadres of large and medium-sized enterprises.

Training of Incumbent Leading Cadres Urgently Needed

According to such factors as the scale and output value of enterprises, the position occupied by their products in the national economy, and their tax

payment and profit delivery to the state, the state singled out over 140 large and medium-sized backbone enterprises. These enterprises are the main maker of state revenue. They play a decisive role in the national economy.

During the Seventh 5-year Plan period, all leading cadres of large and medium-sized enterprises in China with college or above college education, including factory directors (managers), chief engineers, chief economists, accountants, and secretaries of party committees, totalling nearly 40,000 people, are required to be released from their posts during their tenure of office to attend the 4 and one-half month-long systematic training to gain vocational knowhow of modern management and obtain vocational certificates for their positions. This is another major measure adopted after the 11th round readjustment of the leading bodies of large and medium-sized enterprises throughout the country in the first half of 1985.

Between 1982 and the first half of 1985, the leading bodies of large and medium-sized enterprises went through all round readjustment. According to investigations, after the readjustment, the educational level of the leading bodies was higher; the proportion of leading members with college and above college education increased from previous 20 percent to 80 percent; and the average age of the leading bodies declined. Before, the majority of leading members were over 60 years old and now, 45 year-old cadres make up the main part of the leading cadres of large and medium-sized enterprises. The political quality of cadres is better, most of them were college graduates of the late 1950's and the early 1960's, and they have stronger spirits of reform, pioneering, and innovation. However, these incumbent leading cadres have prominent shortcomings: The overwhelming majority of them have been doing engineering and technical work for a long time; therefore, they are familiar with their special line of work and the production technology of their enterprises, but they are unfamiliar with management and administration, lack experience in leadership, are weak in organizing and coordinating ability, lack knowledge and experience in foreign economic relations, and are ignorant of economic laws and regulations. Therefore, giving them regular and standard training has become a very pressing task for the Seventh 5-year Plan period.

#### Four Steps for Training Work

Officials of the cadre education bureau in charge of training work under the State Economic Commission pointed out that the work of training the leading cadres of large and medium-sized enterprises may be carried out in four steps: conduct investigation and research, experiment with selected units, draw up plans, and implement them step by step.

Beginning in April 1985, the departments concerned have conducted on-the-spot investigations of industrial and mining enterprises in the four provinces of Hubei, Liaoning, Jilin, and Heilongjiang and analyzed the statistical data collected from over 1,000 leading cadres of over 1,400 large and medium-sized enterprises in nine provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities including Shaanxi, Sichuan, Nei Monggol, Tianjin, and Hebei. On this basis, 13 institutions of higher education with a relatively strong line of management teachers and certain experiences in running schools were selected

to study and formulate teaching plans for the systematic training of factory directors, chief engineers, chief accountants, chief economists, and party secretaries in the vocational skills and knowledge of modern management. Moreover, in the second half of 1985 and the first half of 1986, 34 experimental classes were opened in groups to offer training on a trial basis. It was estimated that a total of over 1,480 enterprise leading cadres received training.

The training of the leading cadres of large and medium-sized enterprises is a high-level personal vocational training. The main contents of the training include basic socialist theories, principles, and policies, modern management, the science of leadership, economic laws and regulations, and foreign economic relations.

Generally, after 4 and one-half months of intensive education, enterprise leading cadres attending the study all achieve something such as learning and updating management knowhow, increasing their ability to make analysis and policy decisions, and increasing confidence in doing a better job in their own work.

After the study, these enterprise leading cadres have not only recognized the importance of improving their own political and cultural qualities but also felt the urgent need to improving the quality of the broad masses of staff and workers. They have realized that enterprises must increase intellectual investment. When the cultural quality of enterprise staff and workers improves and becomes closer to the intellectual level of enterprise leading cadres, factory directors' management policy decisions will be understood and supported, staff and workers will voluntarily do their own jobs well in accordance with policy decisions, which is conducive to increasing enterprises' economic results. Therefore, today's intellectual investment will bring in greater economic results tomorrow. After the leading members of the Lanzhou Oil Refinery returned to the plant from the study and training, they decided to increase staff and workers' education funds from last year's 110,000 yuan to 200,000 yuan. The Xian No 5 Cotton Plant also decided to increase staff and workers' education funds from last year's 70,000 yuan to over 100,000 yuan.

#### Do a Good Job in the Selection and Training of Enterprise Reserve Cadres

Responsible persons of the education bureau under the State Economic Commission told reporters that to establish a regular, systematic, and standardized training system for economic cadres, in addition to strengthening the training of incumbent leading cadres, we should also do a good job in the selection and training of enterprise reserve cadres. Along with the economic development of the state and the improvement of enterprise management level, the demand for high-level management personnel increases as each day goes by. Since such personnel are strategic reserves for the leading cadres of large backbone enterprises and economic management departments, we must start now to make long-term arrangements.

It is reported that the State Economic Commission plans to select from enterprises some outstanding young cadres, who are about 30 years old, have an

undergraduate degree and over 5 years of work experience, and show great potential for training, and send them to attend graduate classes sponsored by relevant universities and colleges for masters of management. Students with outstanding academic achievements and moral character may be sent overseas to seek advanced studies. Through such methods and channels, we should establish a master of management program aimed at training leading cadres for China's large and medium-sized enterprises (similar to overseas MBA programs).

To train management personnel for Chinese enterprises, we need to import, assimilate, and absorb advanced foreign management science. Among the nine enterprise management training centers of Beijing, Dalian, Tianjin, Shanghai, Chengdu, Wuhan, Guangzhou, Xian, and Wuxi, which were established by the State Economic Commission during the "Sixth 5-year Plan" period, five have carried out projects in cooperation with foreign countries to serve as windows for the systematic importation of advanced foreign management experience. The Dalian training center, which cooperates with the United States, is the first to import advanced foreign experience. Between 1980 and 1985, it trained over 1,000 factory directors (and managers). A fairly large number of its graduates later became prefectural or city mayors and 4 or 5 held leading positions at and above the provincial level.

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4 December 1986

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

## ROTATIONAL TRAINING FOR AGRICULTURAL LEADERS

Hong Kong LIAOWANG OVERSEAS EDITION in Chinese No 33, 18 Aug 86 pp 8-9

[Article by Liu Peidi [0491 1014 2769] and Yang Jingan [2799 7231 1344]:  
"Rotational Training of 10,000 Agricultural Leading Cadres in 3 Years"]

[Excerpts] Beginning in the first half of 1986, 10,000 agricultural leading cadres at and above the county level in China will receive, by groups, at different times, training concentrating on the economic management of modern agriculture and the knowledge of the rural commodity economy.

These agricultural leading cadres are secretaries of county party committees and county heads in charge of rural work; secretaries and commissioners in charge of rural work, directors of rural work departments, chiefs of agricultural and animal husbandry bureaus at the prefectural level; and directors of rural work departments, chiefs of agricultural and animal husbandry departments (or bureaus), and directors of business offices at the provincial level. According to the training program of the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, and Fishery stipulates, each training period lasts from 2 to 2 and one-half months and 10,000 agricultural leading cadres are expected to complete training within 3 years.

This is the second round of training China conducted for agricultural leading cadres at and above the county level.

1. China now has over 2,400 counties. A large number of leading cadres at and above the county level on the agricultural front have rich working experience and great organizing and managerial abilities, but due to historical reasons and the influence of the "10-year turmoil," they all lack the knowledge in agricultural science. According to a 1979 survey, only 3.6 percent of all agricultural leading cadres at provincial, prefectural, and county levels have vocational education background. It is very difficult for such a vocational structure to meet the needs of the development of modern agriculture. Many leading cadres do things according to the "will of commanding officers," violate natural law in leading agricultural production, and create many lessons for us by giving wrong orders.

In view of this situation, the state began in 1979 to conduct the vocational training of agricultural leading cadres at and above the county level



concentrating on the basic knowledge of agricultural science and agricultural reform. In the past 6 years or so, the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, and Fishery has conducted vocational training through 16 agricultural institutions of higher learning including Beijing and Nanjing agricultural universities. By the end of 1985, it already trained over 16,000 leading cadres at provincial, prefectural, and county levels and basically fulfilled the task of the first round of universal training. Among agricultural leading cadres receiving the training were 50 secretaries and deputy secretaries of provincial party committees, deputy governors, and vice ministers. Others receiving the training were over 200 chairmen of agricultural commissions and chiefs of the departments (or bureaus) of agriculture, animal husbandry, and fishery from China's 29 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities, averaging seven from each province (autonomous region or municipality); over 600 party and government leading cadres at the prefectural (or city) level; and over 8,000 secretaries and deputy secretaries of counties and heads and deputy heads of townships. In addition, a large number of other leading cadres at levels equivalent to the county level also received the training. The training of agricultural leading cadres covered the 2,400 counties of China.

Most agricultural leading cadres who went through the training improved managerial ability, raised vocational and technical levels, and increased confidence in achieving agricultural modernization.

Promoted by leading cadres at all levels, agricultural technical training was carried out vigorously throughout the country, bringing about a new situation in which training was carried out by all levels--central, provincial, prefectural, county, township, and village. By the end of 1989, over 500,000 cadres at and above the village level, over 4 million cadres in charge of scientific, technological, and vocational work, and over 4 million grassroots cadres and peasants serving as scientific and technological backbones were trained. In addition, over 30 million peasants had attended vocational and technical training classes and thus learned one or several practical techniques, thus speeding up the process for peasants to get rich through labor.

11. The training of agricultural leading cadres is conducted mainly through agricultural institutions of higher learning. Since 1979, the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, and Fishery has opened, according to natural divisions, 16 training classes for agricultural leading cadres at and above the county level in the agricultural universities of Beijing and Zhejiang, and the Shenyang, Northwest, Southwest, Nanjing, Central China, and South China agricultural colleges and some colleges of aquatic products and farm machinery. For this, it has invested over 10 million yuan and built over 50,000 sq m of housing projects with a capacity to accommodate over 1,700 people.

Training courses and curricula were designed to meet the real needs of agricultural leading cadres. Each study period lasted 6 months. In the first round of training, agronomy, agricultural economy, and similar disciplines were major courses; animal husbandry, veterinary science, and agricultural mechanization were minor courses. Some elective courses and special reports

were arranged in accordance with regional characteristics to meet specific needs. In order to make a success of teaching, over 500 outstanding teachers who were specialized in certain fields and good at teaching were selected to teach such courses. They also compiled more than 10 sets and over 10 million words of training materials. The two training classes of Nei Monggol and Xinjiang also translated the teaching materials into Mongolian and Uygur languages.

III. After the training, although cadres in charge of rural work at all levels somewhat improved their intellectual and vocational standards, most of them still lack knowledge in the science of leadership, management, and administration. In light of this reality, the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, and Fishery decided to use approximately 3 years, beginning in 1986, to conduct the second round of training for agricultural leading cadres at provincial, prefectural, and county levels. The contents of study will concentrate on the macroscopic theories and knowledge in the leadership, management and administration of modern agriculture. Students attending this training will be issued, after examinations, a "vocational qualification certificate" which will be considered as a requirement for the placement of agricultural leading cadres at and above the county level. In the first half of 1986, the first phase of training was conducted in 10 training centers. Training courses included the rural commodity economy, the management of township and town enterprises, the fundamentals of agricultural system engineering, and computer theories and applications. Special lectures on the development strategy of agriculture and developments in science and technology were also sponsored. Over 400 cadres at prefectural and county levels took part in the 3-month study.

During the "Seventh 5-year Plan" period, in addition to the training of leading cadres at and above the county level in the knowhow of modern agricultural management and the commodity economy, the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, and Fishery also decides to conduct the training of agricultural bureau chiefs at and above the county level in modern agricultural management, system engineering, and the update and supplementation of new agricultural knowhow and technology and the training of cadres at district and township (or town) levels in the knowhow of rural economic management, the knowhow of commodity production, and applied technology.

During the "Seventh 5-year Plan" period, efforts should also be made to carry out continuous education among scientific and technological personnel engaging in the work of agricultural science and technology so as to update, supplement and expand their theories, knowledge, technology and methods and bring about extensive improvements in the basic theories, vocational knowhow, and professional competence of scientific and technological personnel. This will help agricultural science and technology reach and catch up with international standards as quickly as possible and enable some technological advantages to maintain leading positions in the world.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

TRAINING FOR SCIENTIFIC, TECHNOLOGICAL PERSONNEL

Hong Kong HIAOWANG OVERSEAS EDITION in Chinese No 33, 18 Aug 86 pp 11-12

[Article by Chen Xinggui [7115 5281 6311] and Sun Maode [1327 2021 1799]: "A Visit to the Dalian Training Center of Chinese Industrial, Scientific, and Technological Management"]

[Excerpts] To the east of the Dalian Engineering College in the western suburb of Dalian, a coastal city in northeast China, there is a cream-colored two-story building. Mounted on the entrance of this building is a marble plate with English and Chinese writings which say: "The Dalian Training Center of Chinese Industrial, Scientific, and Technological Management."

This training center was established 7 years ago under the concerns of Chinese and U.S. leaders according to the Sino-U.S. agreement on the cooperation of scientific and technological management and information.

In the reform of opening to the world, China needs not only large numbers of scientific and technological personnel but also large numbers of administrative and managerial personnel, especially a large number of high-level administrators and managers who have knowledge in modern management, rich working experience and good organizing, leading, coordinating, and directing skills. In 1980, the State Economic Commission suggested that several enterprise management training centers be established to serve as windows for the systematic importation of advanced foreign management experience. The Dalian Training Center is the first such base established to train high-level administrators and managers through Chinese and foreign cooperation.

In the past 7 years or so, this training center has sponsored 6 seminars for factory directors and managers, 2 study classes for economic leading cadres, 3 special study classes on the economic development zones of coastal cities, and trained almost 1,000 cadres in charge of enterprise management. Students at this center are all over the country except for Taiwan, Xizang and Qinghai. In 1984, this training center and the Buffalo Management School at the State University of New York in the United States jointly sponsored a MBA program. A total of 140 graduate students, enrolled over the past 3 years, are now studying here for the masters of business administration.



Premier Zhao Ziyang once pointed out: "Chinese enterprises are backward, but their management is even worse." "Judged from the present situation, improving and strengthening management and raising the level of economic management is of greater urgency and more immediate importance." From the profile of the Senior Training Center of Chinese Central, Scientific, and Technological Management, we can see the task of already reversing the backward situation of China's enterprise management.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

## EPISTEMOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCES PROPOSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 13 Jun 86 p 2

[Article by Yu Guangyuan [0060 0342 6678]: "Develop the Study of Science As Applied to Social Sciences"]

[Text] On the 30th anniversary of the "double hundred" policy, I would like to suggest that effective measures be adopted to develop epistemological research in the social sciences.

Epistemological research has been conducted in China for many years. A participant in the study all along, I know that several years ago China formed the "China Research Association on Epistemology," published periodicals and books, and held many academic conferences. However, it is odd that research today is limited to the field of natural sciences, and there has been no mention of the social sciences all these years. To say that no one is interested is not totally true. I heard comments on the matter, and I myself also discussed the issue, but the development of the matter still remains at the stage of "nothing" in the dialectical movement. This is the reality to date.

What are the reasons for this situation?

Primarily it is the lack of a mechanism. Let us compare it with the epistemological research in the natural sciences: the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the State Science and Technology Commission, and the Chinese Science and Technology Association are in charge, and some people are assigned to the mechanisms of the natural sciences. The Chinese Academy of Sciences, for instance, issues a NEWSLETTER ON NATURAL DIALECTICAL RESEARCH. It makes epistemological research a part of its work, and some of its comrades are greatly interested and have done much organizational work. Currently the periodical is being merged with other mechanisms of the academy, forming a new research structure. The new structure still considers epistemological research a part of its work and receives support from the academy, the State Science and Technology Commission, and the China Science and Technology Association. Thus, epistemological research in the natural sciences is established and developed. However, in terms of the social sciences, no mechanism is in charge; thus, epistemology as applied to the social sciences is quite inactive. In regard to this situation,





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4 December 1986

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

## NEED FOR POLITICAL COMMENTATORS ADVOCATED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 12 Jun 86 p 4

[Article by Wu Guoguang 10/02 0948 0342]: "May We Have Political Commentators?"

[Text] Why do I bring up the issue? Because we once had outstanding political commentators, yet many people today do not even know that there are such professionals as "political commentators" in the world.

One may say that political commentators are linked with the modern press. China's modern press had trenchant political comments as its characteristic, with a large group of writers with deep insight and fluent style. Liang Qichao's "Current affairs style" comments were most popular in a generation and served as the strongest voice of the bourgeois reform faction; such representative figures of the bourgeois revolution as Liang Qichao all shined before the eyes of the people as outstanding political commentators. During the new democratic revolution led by the CPC, party papers also trained superior commentators of a generation, including such famous figures as Yun Daiyong, Xiao Chunru, and Qiao Guankai, all rendering meritorious service to the party cause. Glancing through the history of China's press, and even its entire modern history, one can see that political commentators were among the men of the hour.

Nevertheless, political commentators have long vanished. In newspapers and periodicals, besides editorials and articles written by staff commentators, people say that there are no comments on political issues and the current situation. Meanwhile, editorials and staff commentators' articles are anonymous. Society is basically unaware of the existence of working political commentators. "Anonymous public opinion" has been pushed to the extreme. The writings of these "anonymous political commentators" have lost the characteristic of political comments and have been turned into reports of official documents and directives. Naturally, personal views cannot be expressed, and even individual styles have been "polished" away.

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, reading began to flourish. Articles with comments of all kinds and large and small special columns have begun to flourish, and there has emerged a group of political commentators, including some members of the basic level, who have

that first in reality, analyze current situations, discuss the pros and cons, and derive from politics to economics to literature. With the implementation of economic reform, political and cultural reforms have become the country's all-concern, and discussions of political problems, a sort of public opinion of society, have to be expressed in overt publications. For the accurate expression of public opinion and embodiment of popular will, the press has to conform to society's needs. In fact, a period of major social changes is always a time when people's thinking is most active and their concerns about reality strongest, and therefore, it is a time when political comments flourish, leading to the emergence of a group of professional commentators. Today we have arrived at this historical period.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

WANG RUOSHUI REBUTS WENYI BAO COMMENTATOR'S ARTICLE

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jun 86 p 4

[Article by Wang Ruoshui [3769 5387 3055]: "Literary Freedom and Free Literature"; Written in February and revised in May 1986. The WENYI BAO commentary of 8 February 1986, cited in this article, was run by the Daily Report on 27 March 1986, pp K10-K15]

[Text] On the Formulation of "Freedom and Responsibility"

Free literature is the product of literary freedom and literary freedom is the prerequisite of free literature.

Of course, freedom is not abstract and absolute; therefore, I would like to discuss literary freedom along with literary responsibility.

The so-called literary freedom refers to writers' freedom of creation and criticism; the so-called literary responsibility refers to writers' responsibility to society as producers of such spiritual product as literature.

Literary freedom and literary responsibility, or generally speaking, freedom and responsibility, are the unity of opposites.

Nowadays people are used to seeing freedom and responsibility as a pair of related subjects, but 3 to 4 years ago, it seemed to be different.

In 1982, I published an article, entitled "Literature, Politics and the People" which includes the following remarks:

"We should not abuse the freedom of creation. We often discuss the unity of freedom and discipline. Here, I rather discuss the unity of freedom and responsibility. Discipline is applied to us externally while responsibility is what we demand of ourselves. The freedom of creation is unified with the responsibility of writers. We have the freedom of creation, but this does not mean that we do not have any responsibility. We should be responsible to the people and socialism. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that party leaders should not flagrantly interfere with literature and arts. This has increased precisely the social responsibility of writers and artists."

A year later, the following criticism appeared: "He-inten wants to do away with the formulation of 'freedom and discipline' and changed it to 'freedom and responsibility' for the reason that discipline is applied to us externally. It says how a Communist party member can say such a thing and so on and so forth. The criticism even mentioned the date I took when I was admitted to the party and brought up the question of whether I was qualified as a party member. Such criticism was even carried by newspapers. This was quite serious. As a matter of fact, we can see from the paragraph cited above that I was not talking in general. Instead, I was talking about a specific case in which certain literary and art workers abuse the freedom of creation to the neglect of social results and forget their responsibility to the people and socialism. I mean in this case it is better to use 'freedom and responsibility' than to use 'freedom and discipline.' It has absolutely nothing to do with shortening the formulation of 'freedom and discipline.'

Pairing freedom with responsibility is not my invention. It was popular in foreign countries long ago. In China, before I wrote the above article, Comrade Deng Xiaoping had said in 1956:

"The literary and art article was just convened the literary and art congress. We said we should not flagrant interfere with what and how to write. This has increased greatly the responsibility of literary and art workers and their demand on their own work." ("The Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" page 219-220)

Comrade Xiaoping had affirmed the freedom of creation (although he did not use the word, it is what he meant). He linked such freedom to responsibility instead of discipline. Thus, of course, does not mean that the issue of discipline does not exist as far as literary and art workers are concerned. Comrade Xiaoping chose the word "responsibility" here because what he emphasized was literary and art workers' "demand on their own work." Obviously, Comrade Xiaoping thought it was a better and more suitable way to put it. At the same time, the above remarks also indicate precisely the fact that Comrade Xiaoping mentioned "responsibility" as demand on ourselves.

When I said "discipline is applied to us externally," I was comparing it to the idea that "responsibility is demand on ourselves," meaning, generally speaking, discipline is imposed on us by ourselves. We can say "this is my responsibility," but we cannot say "this is my discipline." We can only say "this is partly discipline" or "disciplinative discipline." Saying that discipline is imposed on us externally or that it is imposed on us by ourselves does not mean that it is imposed on us by discipline voluntarily. These two ideas can be unified. It was "externally" not "voluntarily." If an irrational discipline is imposed on us "voluntarily," there will be, of course, no voluntary discipline.

Freedom can be paired with discipline as well as responsibility. These two kinds of formulation is not contradictory each other. Whether to use and use depends on the specific situation. Discipline carries two connotations: significance whereas responsibility emphasizes ethical significance and, occasionally, administrative or legal significance. Responsibility is not



only our demands on ourselves but the demands made on us by the people, organizations and higher levels. However, responsibility is "what should be done" whereas discipline stresses "what should not be done". Therefore, the formulation of "freedom and discipline" cannot replace that of "freedom and responsibility." The formulation of "freedom and responsibility" applies to not only literary and art creation but all fields. For instance, giving enterprises more decision-making power with a certain amount of pressure to combine "power, responsibility and interest" involves precisely the unity of freedom and responsibility. Giving a certain kind of decision-making power is the same as giving freedom, but such freedom is related to responsibility. Unrestricted freedom can make things worse. By the same token, with responsibility without freedom needed to fulfill the responsibility, one will not do a good job.

### The Freedom of Two Definitions

As a matter of fact, "freedom and discipline" are not the only formulation in our country. There is also the formulation of "freedom and necessity." If someone used the formulation of "freedom and necessity" on a certain occasion, nobody would blame him. However, many people are confused about the meaning of "freedom" in this formulation. They do not realize that "freedom" relative to "necessity" is the freedom of philosophy or science which is different from the freedom of social and political life.

Somebody has already pointed this out in newspapers, but nobody has paid any attention to it. Not long ago, I read the WENJIAO (Literary and Art Creation) February 1985, issue No. 5, entitled "The Freedom of Creation and Responsibility of Literary and Art Workers to Society." It is really such a serious article has failed to avoid making such a mistake.

Judged by the title, the freedom the article talks about is the freedom of social and political meaning, namely citizen's freedom of press and "freedom to state scientific research, literary and art creation, and other cultural activities" (47th article of the Constitution). The article indeed expounds this kind of freedom and quotes many speeches of party leaders to increase the weight of the argument. However, it does not mention a word about the party's supreme authority. In other words, the article considers the creation only as a part of the party's literary and art policy and does not mention the plane of state democratic system and civil rights, but be considered a flaw.

Secondly, whether or not the stipulations of the Constitution, the policies and principles of the party, the implications of "freedom of creation" are always obvious. They are political concepts, not legal ones. But, to our surprise, the above article uses the following definition of the freedom of creation:

"To really enter a state of freedom in creative work is not a piece of cake for writers and artists. In addition to the demands of the people and social standards, they should have..."

understanding of the people's life and a good grip on the objective laws of life and its both have objective laws. The realization of freedom is the process of understanding objective laws and successfully applying them, understanding to practice." (The underlines are added by the speaker and the speaker himself)

"A writer or artist will not gain the real freedom of creation if he does not mix his life into the life of the masses who wage a fiery struggle against reality and uses Marxist viewpoints and artistic sensitivity to observe, understand, take part in, get a grip of, and explain the life of society and master the essence of the life of society. Besides, he will get the best of artistic creation if he mixes his sense of responsibility to society thoroughly with his entirely free creative activities and rid himself of any external superfluous additions."

Now, the article is not talking about writers and artists' right of freedom. It is talking about how writers and artists understand the law of life and enter the realm of freedom in literary and artistic creation by successfully applying such laws. Obviously, this is the freedom of philosophical meaning. It is the understanding and control of reality, it is an entirely different thing from the freedom of political meaning.

In my opinion, as long as the articles of the Constitution guarantee the freedom of speech, the press, and literary and artistic creation and the party's "hundred" principles are resolutely and consistently implemented, writers and artists will be able to really enjoy the right of creative freedom. As for "really entering the state of freedom in creative work" and "getting the best of artistic creation" is an entirely different matter. It is a matter of cognition, artistry, and a unique, subjective spirit of artists themselves. It is not that this can be taught or learned, but when one discusses two issues together without pondering at the difference between the two, he is likely to be taken for trying to confuse people and change subjects.

Now, not every writer and artist can reach the realm of freedom even if they have a perfect and superb command of arts after they have a grasp of the laws of creation because it is a very high goal. However, the question is not that. Even if writers and artists have a good grip of the laws of life and art, if they are wantonly interfered with all the time as to what they should write, it will also be impossible for them to give free and full play to their creative abilities. Therefore, I want to add that there must be good conditions to play an outstanding role in the vast world of art and reach the state of freedom in creation.

#### Freedom of Literary Freedom

When "freedom" existed but was seldom used in ancient times, the meaning of this word now has a modern meaning which is different from the old, initiated by Yan Fu's [1891-1934] translation of the word "liberty" or its synonym, freedom. When English or American dictionaries explain the political meanings of these two words, they always say that they mean free from slavery, imprisonment or other conditions of oppression.

"The... of civil rights concerning speech, the press, religion, assembly, and freedom without arbitrarily imposed restraints." And then in 1859, John Stuart Mill's "On Liberty" by an Englishman named Mill, he wrote the famous chapter "The Theory of Limit Between One's Rights and Others." This chapter tells people what must be granted freedom and what should not. It is clear that even in orthodox bourgeois scholar circles, freedom is absolute and unrestrained.

When we read this passage, the WENYI BAO commentary states:

"We must not artificially interfere with writers' or artists' freedom of expression only for the expression of the stupidity and ignorance of themselves in literary and art activities while at the same time we must not force a writer or artist of any time to divorce from past or present conditions and social standards when they engage in 'free' expression. Absolute, unconditional, and abstract freedom of expression does not exist in reality."

The second part is comprehensible. The first part says that the freedom of expression should not allow any man-made interference whereas the second part says that there is no such thing as unconditional freedom. This is contradictory. What is "absolute, unconditional, and abstract freedom?" It is the freedom of which there is no constraint. Such freedom of creation, if it exists, is impossible. It is also impossible to demand such freedom in a society. Just as with other civil liberties, the freedom of expression cannot be absolute, unconditional, and abstract. Then, why does this have to do with the question of "man-made interference?" The answer is that the freedom of creation we are talking about here is not absolute, unconditional, and abstract. Therefore, if there is any "interference," it is not "man-made." There is no such thing as not man-made "interference." The freedom of creation means not wanting any interference. It means not wanting any interference or any restraint--it is not "absolute, unconditional, and abstract freedom of creation."

The third part of the WENYI BAO commentary is also contradictory. The 35th Article of the Constitution states: "The exercise by citizens of the People's Republic of China of their freedoms and rights may not infringe upon the interests of the state, of society, and of the collective, or upon the freedoms and rights of other citizens." "The Exercise of Freedom and Rights" mentioned here includes, of course, the freedom of literary and art creation. The 38th Article of the Constitution states: "The personal dignity of citizens of the People's Republic of China is inviolable. No one may be subjected to frame-up directed against citizens by any means or method." "Any means" mentioned here, of course, also includes the means of literary and art work. As for carrying out counterrevolutionary propaganda or inciting subversion in literary and art works, it is, of course, not the freedom of creation and is subject to the laws and decrees of the state. When such phenomena occur, we must not only interfere but also use legal and administrative measures to deal with them. Therefore, there are definite criteria for freedom and

arbitrary, obscene, and libelous. Arbitrary judgements are prohibited.

As you all know, when expounding on the freedom of creation, none of our party leaders has said such phrase as "opposing any man-made interference." What Comrade Deng Xiaoping said is "do not flagrantly interfere" which obviously refers to arbitrary, wanton, and illegal interference, not just any interference. What Comrade Hu Qili said is "to enhance the understanding of socialist legal system and uphold the principle of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend. Errors and problems arisen in literary creation can only be dealt with and resolved through literary and artistic criticism, namely criticism, discussion, and debate, if they do not violate any law. We must guarantee that writers under criticism are not persecuted against politically, punished or subjected to other disciplinary actions of their organizations because of this." Here, Comrade Hu Qili too stressed the issue of the legal system in connection with the freedom of creation.

What we hear, whenever the freedom issue is brought up, we always hear "there is no absolute, unconditional, and abstract freedom." I think simply repeating these cliches cannot solve the problem. I do not know which writer or leader made such a demand, but the question is not whether there is a limit on freedom. The question is where this limit should be placed and whether it should be placed according to the Constitution and laws or according to the will of commanding officers." Making a careless remark about opposing any man-made interference is like making an empty promise we cannot keep for when interference is in need, we can always say "there is no absolute freedom." I believe that our writers do not demand privileges that would free them from any interference and the restriction of law. All they are against are arbitrary, wanton, and arbitrary interference. Such interference is an infringement on the freedom of creation protected by the Constitution. It should be prohibited. We must never defend it by saying "there is no absolute, unconditional, and abstract freedom."

Yours sincerely,

When we talked about literary undertakings being sullied by "Asian-style feudalism and European bourgeoisie." He said:

"After getting off the yoke of censorship under the serf system, we do not want and will not become the prisoners of commercialized bourgeois literary creation. We want to start free newspapers and periodicals and we will uphold this freedom refers not only to the freedom from oppression by society, but also the freedom from capitalism, the pursuit of fame and position, and the individualism of bourgeois anarchism." ("The Selected Works of Lenin" Volume 1, Page 648-649)

"We will not free literature because what attracts group after group of writers into the literary contingent is not personal gains, greed, or pursuit of position. It is the sympathy for socialist ideas and the revolutionary spirit." ("The Selected Works of Lenin" Volume 1, Page 650)

Our society. Dependence on the censorship of the "Sword" and "Sword" publishers. Both our Constitution and party principles recognize the freedom of expression. With this does not mean that in our society there are no more problems with literary freedom (and of course academic freedom) or that all our literature is free literature. During the 10 years of civil strife, China went to a big way in the so-called "all round proletarian dictatorship in superstructure including all cultural aspects" and carried out a large-scale literary inquisition, making the Constitution become a piece of useless paper. Although this horrible period is over, we should not forget the lesson it gave us. At that time, we lost not only political freedom but also our inner freedom. On the one hand, we suffered from physical torment; on the other, we subjected our minds to the yoke of a personal life.

The spirit of free literature requires a healthy environment (political, economic, and social) as well as the spiritual conditions of the author himself, or shall we say, the author's awareness of subject. By this, I do not mean the artistic form, technique, and what not of literature. I mean the content of literature. Writer's minds should be liberated, their attitude toward writing should be sincere, and their writing should be realistic. They should serve the people and society. Therefore, they should sing the praises of the bright side and expose the dark side of the people in reality. This is their freedom as well as responsibility. Instead of letting considerations for fate and position or concept about the changes of political trend stand in their way, they should defend their right. The WENYI BAO commentary mentions this situation. It states: "In this confused and complicated life, if we try to tell the truth, the good from the bad, and the beautiful from the ugly, the contradictions between the characteristics of their expression, and the contradictions of the contradictions of the contradictions, we will indeed have some problems. We will encounter some resistance and even some danger. However, this is not where loyalty lies. The voice of the people, the profound understanding of the reality of life, and the courage of a writing work come from what it says is correct, but it only mentions one aspect, namely the writer's responsibility to society. Making such a statement is not enough. This is exactly where we need to oppose flagrant interference, and the article does not even mention it. Opposing flagrant interference does not mean prohibiting criticism. Appraisals of social effects created by literary works exposing the dark side of society often exist. In this case, we should allow controversies over differing opinions. Literary freedom includes the freedom of comments whereas the freedom of comments includes the freedom of criticism and counter-criticism.

Like power and influence, money may become the goal of the literature. Our economy is a planned socialist economy, money is not the goal. Literature is also considered a cultural commodity. As a commodity, it should, of course, pay attention to the market and value at the box office. But, writers and artists should not pander to the bad taste of readers or audience because of this. It is necessary to be honest and not to be dishonest. Being produced by the government, it is the responsibility of the government to produce works produced by the government for the benefit of the government and the people. People think

Bourgeois literature is the most "liberalized," which is true from a certain point of view. But, judged from a more profound point of view or the viewpoint of Marxism and Leninism, the literature controlled by money is the literature of least freedom. In Western countries, serious writers can only defend their freedom by resisting the control by money.

Speaking in terms of the future, free literature will become a common phenomenon only when a communist society is materialized, when people become the master of nature, society, and themselves, when they become free people, and when literary and artistic creation is no longer a means of life and a means to seek fame and wealth.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PERSONNEL SYSTEM REFORM

Beijing GONGREN (HWA) in Chinese 22 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by Zhang Buzheng (1728 2710 3932): "Some Roughly Conceived Concepts of a Reform of the Personnel System"]

[Text] China finds itself presently in a historically significant period of reform. Progress in reforming the economic, science and technology, educational and other systems makes it urgently necessary to accelerate the reform of the personnel system.

Marxism tells us that every change is motivated by certain inappropriate factors in the target of such changes. A reform of the personnel system is also indicated by such "inappropriatenesses," which, as they presently exist, may be summarized under the following nine categories:

1. Undue emphasis on "what was," a negative attitude of reflecting yesterday's conditions, but very little projecting, few policy decisions, and little training for "what is to come."
2. Undue emphasis on assembling talents; much is done to gather in talents from all over the country, but very little is done in the way of using talents (making the best possible use of men, using talent to its utmost extent) and nurturing talents (training and enhancing their quality).
3. A predilection for static reflections and evaluations, lacking the habit of dynamic investigation and analysis, and inability to cope with changing conditions in matters concerning qualified staff by possibly advancing appropriate proposals or by making appropriate arrangements.
4. The habit of creating one's own system, working in a single-track way, and in vertical relationships, unaccustomed to establishing horizontal contacts with other departments responsible for economic management, or in charge of technical matters or business operations, or to work in cooperation around a comprehensive project.
5. Being bound up within age-old traditional concepts and old-fashioned conventions, accustomed to mystifying, work in single-track patterns, and applying higher-than-needed methods in personnel management, lacking the courage and

and practice of democratization, use of a variety of channels, and opening-up channels of modern personnel management.

31. The strong inclination to merely listen to higher authority, to handle affairs according to the intentions of the leadership, and to receive instructions from below, and a lack of the mass viewpoint and of a democratic style of work.

32. Excessive application of such external functions as "appointing" and "dismissing" individuals and submit to the organization," and "do whatever the party asks you to do," while neglecting the development and use of internal motivations as the needs, aspirations, and interests of the individual.

33. The influence over long periods of time of outward, unexamined concepts, according to which talents are regarded as the property of the departments, and public invitations to apply for jobs as "unintentional humiliations," and being self-satisfied about having "hidden treasures and sleeping tigers" and one's own jurisdiction, and failing to give consideration to the improvement of the use value of talents.

34. The system of a virtual system of "appointments for life" of cadres has not been completely resolved; they can only be promoted, not put down, and cannot ever come down.

35. In view of the shortcomings that exist in the personnel system, it is necessary, in my opinion, to take "five transformations" as points of departure in the way to reform the personnel system:

1. The control of cadres by the party must be transformed from an "all-encompassing pattern" to a "guidance pattern." The former must not be a pattern of ordering people about and placing itself above all other organs. The organs of the ruling party and of the state are all organs of the people being subjected to them by the people; leading personnel of all levels are the servants of the people. The leadership function of the ruling party must mainly consist in the directive guidance in principles and policies, in the guidance in ideological-political work, and in raising morale of members of the party. The principle of "the party controls the organs" is aimed at ensuring that the party determines cadre policy and standards, but not that the party handles all administrative matters and appointments in personnel matters. It is, therefore, necessary to transform "the party controls the organs" from an "all-encompassing pattern" to a "guidance pattern."

2. The scope of control must be transformed from an "all-encompassing" to a "guidance pattern." The first step in regarding the scope of control is to limit the expansion of the "cadre" concept. The present cadre concept is too broad, its scope is too large, and its responsibilities too complex. It is not possible to call every staff member in a government organ of level a "cadre," while others are not. For example, teachers, actors, judges, lawyers, etc., are not in the control of the party. The working personnel in government organs should be regarded as the personnel management of the party. The party should control other personnel in specific fields and in order to

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4 January 1984

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

## PARTY LEADERSHIP, PLANT DIRECTOR RESPONSIBILITY DISCUSSED

Beijing PAN YUE TAN (SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS) in Chinese No 16, 27 Aug 84 pp 14-15

[Article by Xue Hongxin (5641 3022 2450): "Plant Director Responsibility: Still the Best System"]

[Text] In the last 7 years, several industrial enterprises of public ownership all over the country have experimentally instituted the plant director (manager) responsibility system. Up to the present, more than 27,000 experimental enterprises of this nature have been approved throughout the country according to relevant regulations. Experience in these experiments has proven that as an enterprise leadership system the plant (manager) responsibility system is still the best.

Needless to say, anything new will always, at the time it is introduced, meet with skeptical reactions from some people. This has also happened in the case of the plant director responsibility system. Whenever the system is mentioned, some comrades shake their heads and in their minds think: "There is this system and that system, nothing is as good as the system of plant director's responsibility under the party committee leadership." If we analyze historically the system of plant director responsibility under the leadership of the party committee, we have to admit that it was a system which played a positive role during a certain period after the founding of the PRC. However, this system of plant director responsibility under the leadership of the party committee calls for plant director responsibility only by name, while in actual fact responsibility rests with the secretary of the party committee; the plant director has neither the authority nor any possibility to exercise responsibility. As the reform of the economic system is progressing in depth, this leadership system with its undivided control by party and administration, and with the party acting on behalf of the administration, has proven more and more unsuitable to fulfill the needs of the reform, as it is also found more and more detrimental to our efforts at invigorating the enterprises and to the further development of our socialist commodity economy. We are bound to recognize the necessity and correctness of instituting the plant director responsibility system under the conditions that prevail in this new era.

First, instituting the plant director responsibility system is an objective demand posed by the need for a better, modernized, and scientific management

of enterprises. This was already been clearly stated in the CPC Central Committee's "Resolution on the Reform of the Economic System." Second, instituting the plant director responsibility system is an urgent demand posed by our endeavors to invigorate the enterprises and develop a socialist commodity economy. To invigorate our enterprises, it is necessary to appropriately separate ownership and management rights, to have the enterprises emerge from their position of mere appendages of administrative organs, have them become relatively independent economic entities engaged in socialist commodity production and business operations, and have them become juridical persons with certain rights and obligations of their own. Under the new conditions of fierce competition in the market, and facing the serious challenge of the new technological revolution in today's world, it is even more important for enterprises to be fully sensitive to feedback on production technologies and market information; decisions must be taken resolutely, and affairs must be transacted with greatest efficiency. This demands that enterprise production and business operations must be unifiedly directed by a plant director with overall responsibility, that the plant director must be ensured of decision-making powers in the business operations of the enterprise, that he have authority to direct production as well as the right to employ and dismiss administrative cadres of his enterprise. Third, instituting the plant director responsibility system is also a demand posed by the reform of the political system. One change from plant director responsibility under the leadership of the party committee to a system of plant director responsibility can radically change the former state of "the party committee taking care of party affairs," a state of affairs that existed for many years with regard to the party organizations in the enterprises and departments. With regard to the party organizations' activities, the new system will enable the party organizations to concentrate all their energies on ensuring proper supervision of the enterprises, on effectively leading in the party, on enhancing ideological and political work in the enterprises.

Some people are concerned that instituting the plant director responsibility system will weaken or even abolish the leadership of the party. This view is due to a misinterpretation of the meaning of the party's leadership. Spoofing leadership of the party allows of no denying. The question is, what does it mean to abolish the leadership of the party? As regards the working class, the main organization in the enterprises is a political organization, not an administrative organization. Party leadership manifests itself mainly in ideological and political work and in guiding work activities and principles and methods. It is not the work of the party committee to directly manage production or to engage in administrative management. To express it in a comprehensive sense: party leadership in enterprises is being carried out through a variety of channels and in a variety of ways. There are government organs at all levels which employ economic, legal, and administrative means to guide, adjust, constrain, and supervise the production and the business operations of enterprises, keeping them in the track of party and state principles and policies, and the organs of administrative charge of the enterprises and organs in charge of other affairs and economic and cultural work of the party in selecting, appointing, and dismissing plant directors and other leadership personnel. It is these organs and the leadership of the party over enterprises in these respects. The plant directors are responsible to the parties, laws, and regulations of the party and the state,



and in their capacity as representatives of juridical persons, the enterprises, they exercise decision-making power, powers of command, and the power of employing and dismissing administrative cadres as such powers relate to the production and business operations in their enterprises. This can also be said to be manifestations of the party leadership over the enterprises. By effectively carrying out the five types of work, prescribed in the "Resolution" of the 3rd Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee, the party organizations at the enterprises will ensure supervision of the implementation in the enterprises of all policies, laws and regulations of the party and the state, will fully assert their role of battle bastions of the party at all levels in the enterprises, and have their party members exercise their role as exemplary vanguard. The party organizations shall also strengthen the party's ideological and organizational buildup, strengthen the building up of cultural units in the enterprises, strengthen guidance in trade union and youth work, and thereby influence, attract, and spur on all staff and workers to exert themselves for the realization of the program, line, principles, policies, and tasks set forth by the CPC Central Committee. All these are manifestations of party leadership in the enterprises. The above-stated concept is the only accurate way of viewing the relationship between party leadership in enterprises and the implementation of the plant director responsibility system.

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CSO: 4005/058

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

INCREASE IN NUMBER OF ECONOMIC DISPUTES DISCUSSED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 34, 25 Aug 86 p 14

[Article by Shen Guansheng [3088 7070 3932]: "Why Have Economic Disputes Increased?"]

[Excerpts] In terms of cases economic disputes accepted by people's courts of various levels throughout the country in the last 3 years, the number in 1984 approximately doubled that of 1983, the number in 1985 was almost quadruple 1984, and 1986 again increased somewhat from last year. The main reasons for the increase are as follows:

1. Economic legislation has been strengthened, and economic dispute cases accepted by people's courts according to law have grown more numerous.

Significant progress has been made in the legislation of the state, especially economic legislation. The NPC and its Standing Committee passed more than 20 major laws pertaining to economics, and the State Council also formulated a group of economic regulations. These laws and regulations serve as the bases for people's courts to hear disputes. In the past, there was no place to settle economic disputes, nor were administrative organs able to handle them. Today, suits may be brought in people's courts according to law, and the number of cases has increased.

2. With the improvement of people's concept of the legal system, instances of resorting to law in economic disputes have grown ever more numerous.

Among economic disputes filed with the courts in the past, there were more cases involving small enterprises than large ones, and more involving collective enterprises than state-owned ones. Why? Because if the disputes involving small and collective enterprises were not solved, it would affect distribution, while the state was responsible for the large and state-owned enterprises anyway, making them indifferent. With the progress of economic reform and the gradual elimination of the "big rice bowl," practice, state-owned enterprises have increased their sense of responsibility, and can no longer settle disputes by leaving them unsettled. According to a survey of 14 large enterprises in Shenyang city's Tiexi district, 2 years ago there were over 2,700 unperformed contracts, and loans totaled over 80 million yuan. Just one contract of a machine plant tied up over 1.6 million yuan. Such

disputes dragged on over a protracted time, and no suit was filed in court. With the intensification of economic reform, people's concept of the legal system has improved. To enliven the economy and expand production, plants have to look into the economic responsibilities of the parties breaching contracts. Suits filed by large and medium enterprises in the past 2 years in Shanghai's Yangpu district constituted 81.8 percent of all economic disputes accepted by the district people's court.

3. The expansion of autonomy has given enterprises the right to market a part of their products, and their raw material supply is no longer completely allocated by the state. As a result, their economic activities have grown more extensive and frequent, and the increase in economic activities have led to increase in disputes.

4. The progress of economic reform has made the market more active, and an active market naturally involves more disputes. Over- or undersupply, for instance, may lead to disputes resulting from breach by either buyer or seller. In addition, disputes over the quality and prices of commodities have grown in number in recent years.

5. The introduction of contract responsibility systems in all forms among rural and urban enterprises has led to sharp increases in all kinds of contracts in production and operation, and all kinds of disputes on performance have also grown commensurately in number. It is one of the reasons for the higher number of economic disputes.

There are also people who pursue unlawful activities by setting up phony companies and plants and signing phony contracts, and they have to be investigated and prosecuted according to law.

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CSO: 4005/049

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

REPORT ON MALPRACTICES IN SELECTING LEADING CADRES

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 30 Sep 86 p 5

[Special report from Shanghai: "Party Secretary in Heilongjiang Province Probes Into Handling of Personnel Affairs; Malpractices in Selecting Successors Manifest Themselves Mainly in Eight Ways"]

[Text] There are many problems in China's cadre system. Especially the malpractices that have been revealed in the selection of successors to leading groups at all levels show that under the current cadre system it is impossible for truly qualified persons to be selected, a fact which constitute an obstacle to modernization and which makes a reform of the system imperative.

According to a report in the ZUZHI RENSHI XINXI BAO, secretary Sun Weiben [1327 4850 2609] of the CPC's Heilongjiang Provincial Committee, when speaking at a recent province-wide conference for the exchange of information on party rectification work, referred to the malpractices rampant in the present selection of successors to leading groups, malpractices which he summed up as manifesting themselves in eight ways:

1. Appointments for private reasons. The yardsticks that some use when they select candidates are such factors as personal feelings of likes and dislikes, personal feelings of gratitude owed or of resentment felt, considerations of personal advantages or disadvantages for themselves, also whether there exist any personal relationships or whether the candidate is a complete stranger. Some start out in their selections from feudal family or clan concepts, or when deciding on the employment of cadres look for paternal or maternal relationships. There are also some who look at it as something that should be arranged for the time of one's own death; that is not the selection of cadres, but rather the selection of personal replacements.

2. Discrimination against persons of different views. Restrictive lines are laid down according to the persons involved. "One dynasty's emperor, one dynasty's ministers." Restrictive lines are laid down according to the person's disposition. Promotion only for those who go along with my ideas, and exclusion for all who won't. Those who fawn and flatter have great chances to be put into high positions; those who persist in correct opinions will be consigned to limbo. Restrictive lines are also drawn according to

considerations of profit. Selection of cadres are motivated and conditioned by the same principles that are applied in commodity exchanges: Employ my child and I will raise your salary bracket. Valuable positions are exchanged for valuable presents or favors.

3. Violations of due procedure. In order to get one or some favored persons into good positions, the check by the party organization's personnel department is circumvented, and no full discussion by the party committee is arranged for; the candidate is rather promoted to cadre position by a temporary motion, or even by the decision of one individual alone.

4. Violations of policy. In situations where policy forbids it, cadres of one's own system or unit are pushed up in rank improperly.

5. Departmental selfishness. The "departmental ownership system" of cadres is an acute problem of considerable significance. Especially after authority has been passed down to lower levels, some departments regard their cadres as their own property; none can be transferred in, none can be transferred out.

6. High positions for one's own relatives. Promoting one's own children or relatives and friends to high positions has become a very common phenomenon.

7. Obligating someone to extend favors. Using the opportunity of a cadre promotion or employment to obligate someone to return favors is a frequent occurrence. Some offer official posts and make lavish promises, or engage in flattery and favors, some violate the discipline of the party organization by revealing the internal considerations of the organization as far as such influence the appointment to the cadre-candidate himself. Others, in the course of conversation with the cadre, intentionally reveal the views of the party organization toward the cadre or the opinions on the cadre held by other members of the leading group in order to ingratiate themselves with the cadre.

8. Respect only for one's direct superior. Some leading cadres or cadres in leading positions or in charge of departments fail to transmit and implement the spirit of principles, policies, and directives regarding the selection and employment of cadres issued by the Central Committee or any other superior authority, but merely adjust their action according to the expression on the face of whoever is directly and mainly in charge. They would then not be averse to violating policies of which they are well aware, nor would they point out the violation of policy, but rather allow such to occur, or even, on their own initiative, encourage their superior to action that contravenes policy, merely to ingratiate themselves with that person.

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4 December 1986

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

## BRIEFS

ULANHU WRITES MUSEUM INSCRIPTION--On 21 October, a ceremony to mark the inauguration of a museum in memory of (Yinggannaxi), a noted modern writer and historian of Monggol nationality, was held in his hometown of (Xiafu) Township in Beipiao City. Vice President Ulanhu wrote the name of the museum which was inscribed on a horizontal board. [Excerpts] [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 23 Oct 86 SK] /12855

NATIONAL WOMEN WORKERS MEETING OPENS--The national meeting to exchange experiences gained in the work of female workers opened in Beijing this afternoon. Li Xueying, secretary of the Secretariat of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, and Chen Suzhi, Standing Committee member of the provincial party committee and director of the provincial trade union Council, attended today's meeting and delivered speeches. Also present at the meeting were 84 representatives from various provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions. Representatives of female workers of six units in the province delivered written brief reports to the meeting. [Text] [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 27 Oct 86 SK] /12858

SOCIAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION--Beijing, 30 Oct (XINHUA)--China has decided to establish a "National Social Science Foundation" this year for the purpose of developing social science studies. The main source of funds will be an annual special state financial appropriation. The foundation will also receive donations from social organizations and individuals at home and abroad. It is reported that this year's state appropriation for the foundation will be 5 million yuan. The foundation's regulations and detailed rules are now being worked out. [Excerpts] [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1254 GMT 30 Oct 86 OW] /12858

VICE CHAIRMAN IN XIZANG--Banqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyancan, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and honorary president of the Chinese Buddhists Association, concluded his inspection of and visit to the Gamba area and returned to Beijing by train on the afternoon of 4 November. During his inspection and visit to the area, Vice Chairman Banqen Erdini repeatedly stressed the importance of the unification of the motherland and of all nationalities. He hoped that people of various nationalities in the Xizang region would love their country and religion and make active contributions to building the four modernizations for their homeland. [Text] [Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1600 GMT 4 Nov 86 OW] /12858



EAST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

#### RURAL PARTY RECTIFICATION, ECONOMIC GROWTH DISCUSSED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Sep 86 p 1

[Excerpts] A provincial conference on party rectification work at the village level was held at Dongjiao Restaurant in Jinan between 14 and 18 September. Conference participants exchanged experiences in party rectification at the various test points and discussed amendments to the "Comments on Handling Certain Issues in Party Rectification at the Village Level" and "Comments on Party Rectification at the Village Level," drafted by the Party Rectification Office of the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee.

Lu Maozeng [7120 2021 2582], deputy secretary of the Shandong CPC Committee, attended and addressed the conference.

It was stressed at the conference that party rectification at the village level should closely revolve around the guiding principle of promoting reform and economic development.

Conference participants proposed that party rectification at the village level throughout the province emphasize these four basic issues: 1) Enhance the understanding of the development of a commodity economy and work out ideological problems and other matters in our work that conflict with the development of a commodity economy. We must intimately relate party rectification at the village level to the thorough implementation of Circular No. 1 of the CPC Central Committee and the spirit of the conference on rural economic work, and seriously study and solve the issues that arise in reform and the development of a commodity economy. To begin with, we must get rid of outdated traditional concepts, particularly the idea of a small-scale peasant economy, and cultivate of the notion of a socialist commodity economy. Second, we must solve the problem of poor service by giving the leaders a heightened ideological understanding. 2) Educate party members in depth in party spirit and party goals, thereby fundamentally improving the political quality of the rank-and-file. Such education can make the vast numbers of party members firmly bear in mind the basic party goals of serving the people wholeheartedly and leading the masses to achieve prosperity through hard work; intensify the concept of the whole so that they will correctly handle the relations between the individual, on the one hand, and the party and collective, on the other; fully understand the present excellent situation for reform, for the policy of opening China to the world, and for economic

vitalization; and carry out the party's line, principles, and policies even more thoroughly. 3) Carefully investigate cases of serious abuse of power and violations of the law and party discipline by party members and cadres and punish them in order to further improve party style. We should focus on the more conspicuous problems existing among party members and cadres, not the general ones. By that we mean we should tackle things like serious cases where a party member or cadre abuses public office for personal gain or violates party discipline or the law. After these problems are straightened out, the leading cadres of party branches that have been rectified may then guide or influence the rank-and-file to work out their general problems. As long as we understand this point and act accordingly, we will succeed in party rectification in rural areas and avoid deviating to the "left" or right. 4) Step up the development of leadership for party branches in rural areas and earnestly work out the failure of party leaders to run the party. Furthermore, party committees at all levels should consider the strengthening of the Communist Youth League an important part of party rectification and come to grip with it conscientiously. Party rectification offices in all counties (municipalities, districts), townships, and towns must invite the participation of responsible comrades on the CPC committee of the league, and, if necessary, set up a separate group.

The conference believed that rural party rectification is a complex issue and involves numerous policy questions, many of which directly affect rural reform and the vital interests of the masses. So it is both crucial and very sensitive.

It was pointed out at the conference that all levels must conscientiously strengthen leadership and carry out the responsibility system, with each level keeping an eye on the level below it.

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CSO: 4005/126

EAST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

# SYMPOSIUM DISCUSSES BUILDING SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Sep 86 p 1

[Excerpts] A provincial symposium on the building of spiritual civilization was convened by the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee in Jinan from 16 through 19 September.

Lu Maozeng [7120 2021 2582], deputy secretary of the CPC committee, addressed the gathering which was also attended by Secretary General Gao Changli [7559 2490 4409], a member of the standing committee of the Shandong CPC Committee, and Miao Fenglin [5379 2800 2651], another member of the standing committee and director of the Propaganda Department.

Some comrades remarked that the criteria for the building of a spiritual civilization should be a high degree of political democracy, significant ideological progress, cultural flourishing, a vast improvement in morals, a sound legal system, and remarkable advances in science.

It was pointed out at the symposium that to build spiritual civilization, our top priority today is to revamp our ideas. Many comrades noted that revamping our ideas is an objective requirement of reform, of the policy of opening China to the world, and of the development of a commodity economy. Laying the groundwork for the development of a commodity economy is spiritual civilization. We must do away with lingering, outworn "leftist" and feudal concepts and guide people to develop a sense of value, a sense of competition, a respect for talent, and an acceptance of the policy of opening China to the world. Revamping our ideas is also an intrinsic requirement for the building of a spiritual civilization. On the ideological and cultural front, we must get rid of such obsolete notions or practices as absolute obedience to books and authorities, blind opposition to everything foreign, the tendency to demand uniformity in public opinion, the craving for stability, the fear of change, and the mutual contempt between intellectuals, and cultivate new values, including a sense of public service, a pioneering and innovative spirit, and the courage to excel, achieve fame, and establish one's credentials.

Taking part in the symposium were the directors of propaganda departments under various municipal and prefectural CPC committees and others under the CCP committees in the four major enterprises, the heads of research offices of the municipal and prefectural CPC committees, the directors of prefectural and municipal cultural bureaus, the heads of broadcasting stations, and responsible comrades in departments concerned under the province.

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SOUTHWEST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

#### SICHUAN PARTY COMMITTEE STUDIES CADRE SELECTION METHODS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 86 p 5

[Article by Li Tianqing [2621 1131 3237] and Su Can [5685 3503]: "Broadening Channels for Information on Suitable Persons; Organizational Department of the Sichuan Party Committee Explores Ways of Selecting Cadres"]

[Text] To bring about a change in the passive attitude of their organizational department, expressed in such sayings as: "Too few channels for obtaining qualified persons; Too little boldness is shown in the ways of employing people," the Sichuan provincial party committee allowed the masses a free hand to nominate and recommend men for selection, a change that had gratifying results.

In January last year, the organizational department of the Sichuan party committee set up a talent information center. Department head La Jinxiu [0812 6651 0208] published a statement in the SICHUAN RIBAO and over Sichuan TV requesting people of all walks of life throughout the province to recommend qualified and capable persons for the selection of leadership personnel of county and higher ranks. This evoked a strong reaction from among the general public, and letters of recommendation poured in like flakes in a snow storm. Very soon, large numbers of knowledgeable persons, capable administrators, and men in the prime of life, emerged at all battle fronts and in all specialized fields. An old comrade who had worked for scores of years in the party organization said cheerfully: "We found without much effort what would have taken wearing down shoes of steel to discover." The transformation from a "closed pattern" to an "opened-up pattern" in the handling of personnel affairs by the party organization should indeed have happened much earlier!

In the past, the organizational and personnel departments of the Sichuan party organization relied solely on their own ability to discover and select talents. Working in this way in a "closed pattern" presented only one channel, narrowed the field of vision, was not capable of ascertaining the existence of talents over wide areas and on different levels, and, therefore, created a sharp contradiction between having an abundant source of talents and using only a singular channel to find suitable personnel. To solve this contradiction, it is necessary to eradicate the mystification of cadre selection and expand the channels of finding men. Since last year, the organizational department of the Sichuan party committee made some beneficial

experiments and explorations. Apart from giving continued attention to the selection of cadres from persons working in party and government organs, and asking comrades at all levels of leadership to recommend talents, they also vigorously launching the following activities:

Mobilizing the masses to send in recommendations. Since the establishment of the "talent information center" in January last year, and after a leading cadre of the organizational department of the provincial party committee made a statement in the news media asking for capable men, the organizational department received, within a few months, several hundred letters from people from all walks of life, recommending almost 1,000 talents. The "talent information center" analyzed and studied them one by one, screened them and decided on more than 600 candidates as suitable for further examination. One part of them they entrusted to the organizational departments of the party committees in municipalities, prefectures, and autonomous prefectures for further examination, and for one part the organizational department of the provincial party committee set up an examination team, which proceeded to the various municipalities, prefectures, autonomous prefectures, and units of provincial rank to directly carry out examinations.

Holding of talent recommendation meetings. The organizational department and the united front department jointly called talent recommendation meetings, requesting the democratic parties of Shengnan Province, anti-~~union~~ nonparty personages, people's organizations, managers and reporters of news media to recommend qualified and capable persons.

Seeking purpose-related interviews with cadres. Several leading comrades of the organizational department, regardless of wasting some time in government organs or having to go down to the grassroots, undertook interviews with cadres in such departments and units as the departments, commissions, and bureaus of provincial rank, in the municipalities, prefectures, and autonomous prefectures, also in institutions of higher learning, research units, large factories, mines, and enterprises, asking them to recommend some excellent talents.

Attendance at various professional meetings in the province. The various professional meetings, where talents of all fields gather, presented an opportunity for the organizational department to discover talents. The organizational department of the provincial party committee attended the meeting of the factory directors and party secretaries of the machinery system of the province, the meeting of the heads of propaganda departments of county and higher rank, the symposium on the provincial economic and social development strategy, a gathering for the commendation of competent women workers, the annual meeting of the provincial adviser group on science and technology, and the meeting of provincial party committee secretaries of 35 system reform experimental stations. Through attendance at all these meetings, they discovered a large number of talents.

Encouraging and welcoming self-recommendations from talents. Having talents introduce themselves is a supplemental form of finding talents accepted by the organizational department. During a little over a year, the organizational department received 44 letters and 46 personal calls of talents to introduce



themselves for employment. Most of them were middle-aged or young intellectuals.

Strengthening vertical and horizontal linkages, establishing a network for information on talents. Horizontally means to strengthen relations with the departments and the various units of the provincial organs, to engage in cooperation, asking them to provide at all times information to the organizational department and to recommend talents. Vertically means to establish vertical relations with the organizational departments in the municipalities, prefectures, and autonomous prefectures throughout the entire province, to have information regularly transmitted upward and downward, and, according to the administrative competencies of the cadres, mutually recommend outstanding talents.

Through the expansion of channels for ascertaining suitable candidates, the Sichuan party committee was able to select over 3,000 persons for positions at county and higher level. Among these, the organizational department of the provincial party committee had directly handled more than 1,200 persons and had carried out examination of over 670 comrades. Some of these comrades have already assumed leadership positions of prefectural (department) and county (bureau) rank.

Practice has proven that the method adopted by the Sichuan party committee to expand the channels for determining candidates, although still needing perfection in some respects, is showing points of great superiority. First, the method is beneficial for selecting from a larger reservoir of capable talents, having the entire society recommend talents, makes for large numbers, a wide scope, a variety of fields, as it also facilitates the selection of the very best and most suitable talents and having them move into the most suitable of leadership positions. In this way, the shortcomings of the personnel department of the party organization are being effectively overcome and made up, such shortcomings being that their knowledge of people and of talents is not extensive, does not extend in depth, and is incomplete. It also overcomes the shortcomings that consultations are limited to a few people, that decisions are made in a small circle, and the procedure is one of mystification. Second, the fact that the most outstanding talents are selected from among a large group of talents constitutes in itself a kind of competition. Since the conditions are made public, opportunities are equal, so that, naturally, the best win and the worse ones are eliminated. It is, therefore, creating conditions that make talents of excellence stand out. The state of things that allowed cadres only to get into, but never to be removed from jobs, allowed only their advance upward, but never demotion downward, will also be reformed in due course. Third, leading cadres are the public servants of the people and "service attendants" of the masses. The masses have every right to select and recommend leading cadres at all levels according to their own expectations. Encouraging people of all walks of life to seek out and recommend talents for employment is in itself an excellent form of allowing the masses to have a hand in the administration and supervision of the cadres.

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CSO: 4005/098

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

## FORMATION OF RESERVE UNITS ANALYZED

Taipei CHUNGKUNG YENCHIU [STUDIES ON CHINESE COMMUNISM] in Chinese Vol 20,  
No 9, 15 Sep 86 pp 73-81

[Article by Ch'ang T'ai [1603 3141]: "Analysis of the Chinese Communists' Formation of Reserve Units"]

[Text] I. Foreword

On 13 July 1955, the Chinese communists issued their first "military service law," formally putting into effect "compulsory military service," and they stipulated that armymen who have completed their term of active service should be registered for reserve duty and switched to the reserve. In 1958, in order to solve the problem of "maintaining fewer troops in peacetime and dispatching more troops in wartime," the Chinese communists prepared to put into effect the measure of "integrating the military and the reserve," whereby the training of the reserve and militia would be integrated. However, because there were so many military personnel on the mainland that the number of demobilized armymen was enormous, and because of the effect of the Chinese communists' internal power struggle and the riots of the "Cultural Revolution," this measure was not put into effect.

In 1978, after the CPC's "3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee," to reduce the expenditures on national defense and to strengthen the building of reserve forces, while focusing on the requirements of modern operational units to expand their establishment of military personnel, the Chinese communists decided that for the technical military personnel needed in a wartime mobilization, besides having the units reserve part of them, they should mainly get them from the technical soldiers among the demobilized armymen, the specialized fendui of the core militia members, and local personnel with specialized skills. They also concluded that the command cadres, organization cadres, and technical cadres needed in wartime should be taken from among the units with the mission of expanding their establishment and from the reserve cadres. All this was an attempt to make the armed forces able in wartime to rapidly complete the expansion of their establishment and able during a war to constantly replenish their military personnel. In 1980, after the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee had made the decision that "all demobilized armymen, except those who are overage and exempt from reserve duty, who are under 35 years old must

serve in the reserve," the Chinese communists in various places gradually started the registration and management work for the reserve duty of demobilized servicemen and set about restoring the reserve duty system. By 1983 the Chinese communists had begun to form in succession reserve units in various places.

On 31 May 1984, the Second Session of the Chinese communists' Sixth "NPC" passed the "New Military Service Law," which clearly stipulated the putting into practice of a system "integrating the militia with the reserve," in an attempt to make militia organization the basic organizational form for reserve duty. Thus in peacetime they could, through the militia organizations, organize reserve units and also manage and train reserve personnel; and in wartime they could solve the problem of the rapid mobilization of military personnel and also further strengthen the building of the reserve forces. This article will make an analysis of the relevant situations in the Chinese communists' formation of reserve units, and the problems they have encountered during this formation, for reference purposes.

## II. Background to the Chinese Communists' Formation of Reserve Units

### A. Cooperation in Putting Into Practice the System of Integrating the Militia With the Reserve

In 1979, after comprehensively adopting "readjustment and reform measures," the Chinese communists focused on the fact that in all previous years they had only emphasized the militia system and had ignored the reserve system, causing the defect that the building of the reserve force "could not form an integrated system and was unsuitable for the demands of modern warfare." At the same time, because in the past the weapons and equipment of the Chinese communists' army were comparatively simple, the large number of military personnel needed to replenish wartime units could be mobilized from the militia organizations. However, very big changes had now occurred in the situation. Not only were weapons and equipment being constantly replaced following the development in the trend of modernization, but at the same time the scale of the expanded establishment of modern operational units was large and they required more military personnel, particularly the replenishment of a large number of cadres and of various types of technical military personnel. If they only depended on the existing militia organizations, they could not solve this problem. Only by setting up reserve duty registers and statistics for "cadre reserve duty" and "enlisted men reserve duty" and by strengthening the management of reserve personnel could they have in a war a constant replenishment of military personnel and achieve sustained, rapid mobilization.

Based on the abovementioned requirements, the Chinese communists called on all areas to strengthen the system of integrating the militia with the reserves and to organize militia-reserve units.

### A. Need for Streamlining and Reorganization of the Communists' Army

For a long time, because the Chinese communists military conscription system was sabotaged, the armed forces' organizations were overstaffed and full of redundant personnel. For this reason, in 1980 the Chinese communists

comprehensively began the work of "streamlining and reorganization" within the armed forces. To coordinate militia work with the communist army's streamlining and reorganization, so as to meet the wartime needs of mobilizing military personnel supporting the units' operations and safeguarding the self-defense of local and basic-level units, the Chinese communists called for the integration of militia building when the wartime mobilization of military personnel, for the planned building of reserve units, and for the perfection of the reserve system and the rapid mobilization system.

In 1982, the Chinese communists began to conduct experiments on forming reserve units at selected points in various areas, and they put forth the following demands for strengthening the building of reserve units:

1. With the redeuction of a large number of active service units, it is even more necessary to improve the national defense reserve forces and to integrate the building of the standing army with that of the reserve forces.
2. Local "party committees" and "governments" at all levels and "military regions and districts" at all levels must, with economic construction as their central task, strengthen their leadership over militia and reserve work, perfect the system of integrating the militia with the reserve, and in a planned, focused way build the reserve forces.
3. Now and for a period in the future, there must be militia-reserve organization and training. They must be able to swiftly assemble at the stipulated places and within the stipulated time limits, and the training of reserve military officers and the combat effectiveness of reserve military personnel must be enhanced.
4. After the streamlining and reorganization of the armed forces, there will need to be a planned building of reserve divisions and reserve regiments that can undertake operational missions in wartime.

The Chinese communists hope to bring the reserve personnel into the establishment, so that they become an organized, equipped reserve force, and once war breaks out the reserve can be used to replenish units or build new units.

### III. Relevant Provisions for Formation of Reserve Units

According to the provisions of the "New Military Service Law" passed by the Chinese communists in May 1984, the reserve unit personnel include citizens who in age, political quality, and health qualify for military service and who have not been on active service, those who are registered in militia organizations for reserve duty, as well as those who after completing their term of active duty are still qualified for the reserve. The relevant provisions for reserve personnel are as follows: (1) (Chinese communists' "XINHUA NEWS AGENCY" 4 June 1984 Beijing dispatch)

A. Sources of Reserve Unit Personnel

1. Reserve Enlisted Men

- a. Citizens who are registered for military service and whom a preliminary examination shows to be qualified for military service, before being drafted for active military service, may serve in the enlisted reserve.
- b. When an enlisted man is being discharged from active service and he meets the conditions for the reserve, his unit will decide whether he will serve in the enlisted reserve.

2. Reserve Officers

- a. Officers discharged from active service and switched to the reserve.
- b. Enlisted men who have been discharged from active service and who want to serve in the officer reserve, after passing an examination, will be made officers.
- c. Graduates of institutions of higher learning who decide to serve in the officer reserve.
- d. Full-time cadres of people's armed forces departments and militia cadres who decide to serve in the officer reserve.
- e. Cadres of nonmilitary departments and personnel with specialized skills who decide to serve in the officer reserve.
- f. In accordance with regulations, reserve officers who have reached the maximum age for serving in the reserve will be discharged from the reserve.
- g. Full-time "people's armed forces department" cadres, militia cadres, cadres of nonmilitary departments, and personnel with specialized skills who are qualified to be officers will be registered in the military service organizations of "counties, autonomous counties, cities, and areas under the jurisdiction of a city," and, after requesting and getting the approval of the higher level military organization, will serve in the officer reserve.

B. Organization of Reserve Units

1. First Reserve

- a. Personnel of core militia organizations.
- b. Enlisted men discharged from active service who are under 28 years old, who are registered for the reserve, and who are in units in which militia organizations have not been set up.
- c. Personnel with specialized skills who are under 28 years old and who are registered for the reserve.



## 2. Second Reserve

### a. Personnel of ordinary militia organizations.

b. In a unit in which a militia organization has not been set up, enlisted men discharged from active service who are registered for the reserve and who are between the ages of 29 and 35, as well as male citizens qualified for the reserve.

c. Enlisted men on the first reserve will be switched to the second reserve when they reach the age of 29, and enlisted men in the ordinary militia and the third reserve will be discharged from the reserve after the age of 35.

d. Discharged officers, full-time cadres of people's armed forces departments, and militia cadres will be put in the officer reserve.

e. Based on actual requirements, female citizens will be registered for the reserve and will be put in the second reserve, and in units with militia organizations they will serve as core members of the militia.

### C. System of Integrating Reserve With Militia

1. The ages for being in the reserve and the ages for being in the militia organizations are the same, namely, 18 to 35.

2. The ages for the first reserve for core members of the militia are 18 to 28; the ages for the second reserve and the ordinary militia are 28 to 35; and for reserve cadres and militia cadres, the age restrictions can be appropriately relaxed.

3. Reserve personnel include those in militia organizations and those who have been registered for service in the reserve.

4. The classification of the reserve and the organization into groups of the militia are identical. The reserve is divided into the first reserve and the second reserve, and the militia are differentiated into core members of the militia and ordinary militia. Core members of the militia are listed as first reserve, and ordinary militia are listed as second reserve.

### D. Training of Reserve Unit Personnel

1. Every year reserve personnel must take part in military training according to the regulations.

2. The military education and training of reserve enlisted men are either arranged by the militia organization or carried out independently.

3. First reserve personnel who have not been on active service, when they are between the ages of 18 and 20, should be given 30 to 40 days of basic military training.



4. First reserve personnel who have been on active service or who have been given basic military training should still receive 1 to 2 weeks of refresher training.
5. The military training of ordinary militia and of reserve enlisted men who have not yet been put into militia organizations should be conducted according to regulations.
6. During their time in the reserve, reserve officers should be given 3 to 6 months of military training.
7. During the period of their military training, reserve personnel of organizations, groups, and enterprise units receive their full pay and bonuses from their original units, and there is no change in their welfare benefits.
8. During the period of their military training, for reserve personnel of rural areas the "people's governments" of "townships, nationality townships, and towns" adopt the method of the even distribution of burdens, and, in accordance with equal income for equal effort, give them subsidies for loss of working time.

#### E. Provisions for Mobilization of Reserve Unit Personnel

1. In peacetime military organizations at all levels must do good preparatory work for the wartime mobilization of military personnel.
2. Reserve personnel must be prepared at all times to respond to the call to active service. After receiving a notification to this effect, they must punctually report to their assigned places.
3. Responsible persons of organizations, groups, and enterprise units and of the "people's governments" of "townships, nationality townships, and towns" must demand that reserve personnel of units who are called up for active service report at the stipulated time and place.
4. Communications and transportation organizations should give priority to the transportation of reserve personnel who are responding to the call to active service.

#### IV. Specific Measures for Formation of Reserve Units

##### A. Handling the Registration of Reserve Personnel

The Chinese communists require that all male citizens who meet the conditions for military service, besides those of them who are conscripted for active service, register for the reserve according to regulations. Based on actual need, female citizens are to register to serve in the first reserve. They also stipulate that enlisted men discharged from active service who military units have decided will serve in the reserve, officers discharged from active service and switched to the reserve, enlisted men discharged from active service who have decided to serve in the officer reserve, as well as graduates of institutions of higher learning who have decided to serve in the officer

reserve, should, within 30 days after arriving at their work unit or place of residence, register for the reserve with the "people's governments" of their county or city. Full-time cadres of people's armed forces departments, cadres of nonmilitary departments, and specialists who are qualified to be officers should register at the military service organizations in their county or city. After their requests have been approved by the military organization, they can begin to serve in the officer reserve. At present all branches and arms of the Chinese communist army have set up registration cards for demobilized army men; and "people's armed forces departments" and civil administration departments in all places are registering reserve personnel, ex-servicemen, demobilized army men, and militia. The situation is:

1. The Chinese communists' "People's Armed Forces Department" of Anqing City, Anhui Province, has completed the work of registering 6,900 local personnel with specialized skills in the city. The scope of the registration included male citizens 18 to 35 years old in all organizations, groups, residential districts, factories, schools, and villages and personnel with various specialized skills qualified to serve in the reserve. (2) (Chinese communists' "Anhui Radio Station" broadcast 7 July 1984)

2. Wenzhou Prefecture in Zhejiang Province has registered 250 specialized youths of the right age in the reserve. They are from relevant units and from 19 units in Wenzhou City including the sea fishery company, port office, and metallurgical plant. According to their individual specialities, they have been grouped into 10 "specialized skills experimental-point teams," including those for operations, warship navigation, signal, and radar, to act as models for all prefectures in promoting the building of reserves with technical skills. (3) (Chinese communists' "Wenzhou Radio Station," broadcast 5 September 1984)

3. Yunnan Province has registered as reserve cadres important cadres of its organizations, factory and mine enterprises, and relevant units. The qualifications it stipulated for registering reserve cadres are that their political and ideological quality must be good; that they will be able to fully implement the Chinese communists' line, principles and policies; that they have a certain amount of experience in political work, military accomplishments, and organization and command capability; that they possess specialized skills; that they are in good health; and that they have a junior middle school education or higher.

4. The "people's armed forces departments" in all counties and cities of Sichuan Province, besides completing the registration for the reserve of ex-servicemen and demobilized army men qualified to serve in the reserve, have set up classification registration cards for soldiers with specialized skills in order to effectively grasp the quality of the province's reserve military personnel. (4) (Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO 3 July 1984)

#### B. Setting Up Reserve Organic Units

To achieve their objective of "maintaining fewer troops in peacetime and dispatching more troops in wartime," and also to coordinate with the communist army's "streamlining," the Chinese communists, in response to the demands of

modern warfare for military personnel mobilization, are doing work in various areas on organizing the reserves into groups. The Chinese communist reserve units integrate militia organization, reserve registration, and conscription work in determining the reserve personnel. In accordance with the principle of having "predetermined fighters, preassigned cadres, and prepared organizations," the reserve personnel are organized into "squad," "platoon," "company," "battalion," "regiment," and "division" reserve units. The regrouped personnel are given their reserve units' designations, posts, and reporting posts. The leadership and establishment of reserve divisions and regiments are the same as those of the regular units, and the method of integrating active duty officers with reserve duty officers is adopted for their selection and qualification. The remaining levels of reserve units are handled conveniently by local leading cadres and militia cadres. Reserve units of different categories such as an "army reserve division," "antiaircraft artillery reserve division," "reserve garrison division," and "reserve infantry regiment, chemical defense regiment, signal regiment, pontoon bridge regiment, and tank regiment" have been formed; and mobilization drills have been coordinated at various places. As of now, 28 reserve divisions, 6 reserve regiments, and 2 reserve battalions have been discovered. The situation is as follows:

# 1. Reserve Divisions

a. "Suihua Army Reserve Division." Set up in 1982, it has given five training classes for division and regiment cadres. (5) (Chinese communists' "HONGKONG PAO [LIBERATION ARMY DAILY --LAD] 1 April 1984)

b. "Zhengzhou Reserve Division." It was set up in June 1983.

c. "Tianjin Army Reserve Division." Set up in August 1983, this division is one of the earliest reserve divisions formed by the Chinese communists. Its principle purpose was to act as an experimental point before the Chinese communists formally promulgated their new "military service law," and to be a model unit for the widespread establishment of "reserve divisions" in the province. (6) (Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO 1 July 1984)

d. "Kaifeng Army Reserve Division." Set up at the end of 1983, it gave concentrated training to reserve division and regiment officers. (7) ("SINHUA NEWS AGENCY" 25 June 1984 Zhengzhou dispatch)

e. "Hohhot Reserve Division." It was set up in September 1983. (8) (Chinese communists' "Nei Mongol Radio Station," 7 September 1984 broadcast)

f. "Beijing Army Reserve 1st Division." It was set up in 1983.

g. "250th Reserve Division." It was set up in May 1984.

h. "Guangzhou Army Reserve Division." Set up in June 1984, this division completed an "exercise for the wartime emergency incorporation of reserve military personnel into regular units." Within 48 hours after the mobilization order had been issued, reserve military personnel from posts at various places promptly reported to their assigned reserve mobilization

assembly points. They were then assigned to units stationed in various places, where they received 8 to 20 days of military training. (9) (Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO 3 July 1984)

i. "Daxian Army Reserve Division." Set up on 12 June 1984, it gave military training to 180 cadres.

j. "Lanzhou Antiaircraft Artillery Reserve Division." A founding rally for it was held on 20 June 1984 in Lanzhou City's "Dongfanghong Square." A total of 2,600 members of the reserve division gathered there, and Jiang Keyu [5592 0344 1342], commander of the "Lanzhou Military Subdistrict," became concurrently commander of the "Lanzhou Antiaircraft Artillery Division." Then a march-past review was held, in which 10 infantry formations, 42 military vehicles, and 50 antiaircraft artillery vehicles were reviewed. (10) (Chinese communists' "Gansu Radio Station" broadcast 20 June 1984)

k. The "Wuhan Army Reserve Division" was set up in July 1984, and it once coordinated with a certain army of the Chinese communists' "Wuhan Military Region" that took part in a combined arms exercise of a test nature." (11) "XINHUA NEWS AGENCY" Wuhan dispatch 1 August 1984)

l. "Xi'an Air Force Antiaircraft Artillery Reserve Division." Set up on 1 August 1984, this division once held a march-past review and once gave military training to more than 1,000 cadres and reserve personnel. (12) (Chinese communists' "Shaanxi Radio Station" broadcast 2 August 1984)

m. "Navy Dalian Antiaircraft Artillery Reserve Division." Set up on 30 August 1984, this division is the Navy's first antiaircraft artillery reserve division. Formed by the Navy and the military region, it has 3,500 men. (13) (Chinese communists' "Fuzhou Radio Station," broadcast 2 September 1984)

n. "Army Reserve Garrison Division." It was set up on 30 August 1984. (14) (Chinese communists' "Liaoning Radio Station" broadcast 20 September 1984)

o. "Qiannan Army Reserve Division." Set up in August 1984, it once staged a live-ammunition exercise for reserve personnel. (15) (Chinese communists' "Guizhou Radio Station," broadcast 24 August 1984)

p. "Army 404th Reserve Division." It was set up on 5 September 1984 as the first reserve unit set up by the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region." (16) (Chinese communists' "Guangxi Radio Station" broadcast 4 September 1984)

q. "Yangzhou Army Reserve Division." Set up on 11 September 1984, more than 3,000 military personnel was mustered for this reserve division, and it has held a review and march-past of its units. (17) (Chinese communists' "Jiangsu Radio Station" broadcast 11 September 1984)

r. "Nanchang Army Reserve Division." On 29 September 1984 its founding rally was held in "Nanchang City's People's Square." Chen Zhongxiang [3088 6945 4382], deputy commander of the Chinese communists' "Jiangxi Provincial Military District," presided over the rally, after which a military review and

drill of the reserve units were held. (18) (Chinese communists' "Jiangxi Radio Station" broadcast 29 September 1984)

s. "Saibei Reserve Division." It was set up in October 1984.

t. "Langfang Army Reserve Division." It was set up on 11 November 1984, and a number of reserve cadres were appointed for it.

u. "Chuxian Army Reserve Division." Set up on 12 November 1984, it is Anhui Province's first reserve division.

v. "Zhuzhou Army Reserve Division." Set up on 16 November 1984, it was the first reserve unit formed in Hunan. Eleven of its units were reviewed, including engineer, reconnaissance, chemical defense, and signal contingents. (19) (Chinese communists' "Hunan Radio Station" broadcast 14 December 1984)

w. "Air Defense Reserve Division." It was set up in November 1984.

x. "Beijing Army Reserve 2d Division." Formed on 1 February 1985, it is composed of more than 10,000 ex-servicemen, demobilized army men, and core members of the militia in Fangshan, Daxing, Changping, and Yanqing counties. (20) (Hong Kong WEN HUI PAO 1 February 1985)

y. "Yangzhou Army Reserve Division." Set up in May 1985, it once conducted a 15-day training session for its battalions, companies, and platoons.

z. "Baicheng Army Reserve Division." Set up in 1985, it has conducted military training and political education activities. (21) (Chinese communists' ZHONGGUO MINBING ZAZHI [CHINESE MILITIA MAGAZINE] January issue, 1986)

aa. "Border Defense Reserve Division." Set up on 1 May 1985, it is the reserve unit formed for Shenzhen and Shantou cities in Guangdong Province.

bb. "Dalian Reserve Division." It was set up at the beginning of 1985.

## 2. Reserve Regiments

a. "Heishan Reserve Infantry Regiment." It was set up on 11 April 1983.

b. "Reserve Signal Regiment and Tank Regiment." They were set up on August 1984. (22) ("Liaoning Radio Station," broadcast 20 September 1984)

c. "Gaoyou Reserve Artillery Regiment." It was set up in August 1984. (23) (Chinese communists' RENMIN QIANXIAN BAO 8 January 1985)

d. "Nanchang Army Reserve Infantry 3d Regiment." It was set up in September 1984. (24) (Chinese communists QIANXIAN BAO 16 July 1985)

e. "Beijing Municipality Xicheng District Army Reserve Chemical Defense Regiment." Set up on 9 November 1984, it is composed of more than 1,200 demobilized chemical defense soldiers, and is the Chinese communists' first



reserve chemical defense regiment. (25) ("Fuzhou Radio Station" report 10 November 1984)

f. "Reserve Pontoon Bridge Regiment." It was set up in December 1984.

3. Reserve Battalions and Companies

a. "Air Force Surface-to-Air Guided Missile Reserve Militia Battalion." Set up in 1984, it has held combat exercises.

b. "Army Reserve Tank Regiment's 1st Battalion." Set up in August 1984, it is the first reserve tank battalion formed by the Chinese communists. (26) ("SHAANXI Radio Station" report 1 September 1984)

c. "Army Reserve Antiaircraft Machinegun Company." Set up in August 1984, it has conducted military exercises.

C. Establishing Militia and Reserve Training Centers

To drill and train reserve personnel, the Chinese communists have set up in various areas, with the county and city as the units, new militia and reserve concentrated training centers in accordance with the principle of "overall plans, formation by stages, and gradual perfection." With regard to the scale and equipment of each training base, in accordance with the different training tasks and training content, there is set up inside it a small tactical training ground, an infantry weapon live-ammunition firing range, teaching section equipment, and living quarters facilities.

At different places in various areas on the mainland, there have now been set up more than 1,200 militia and reserve concentrated training centers of various types, which give the militia and reserve concentrated training and reduce the amount of duplicative training at the bases. (27) ("XINHUA NEWS AGENCY" Beijing dispatch 16 December 1985) The current situation is:

1. The Chinese communists' "Hebei Provincial Military District" has changed its past practice of decentralizing the training of the militia and reserve. With the county and city as the units, as much as possible it has built concentrated training bases on barren, sandy, and poor land and on hillsides. Each training base has a teaching research section, a weapon and ammunition warehouse, a training ground, as well as living and production facilities, so that the personnel are able to subsist, stay at, train, and produce. Instructors, weapon guard personnel, training support personnel, and production personnel are gathered together. (28) ("XINHUA NEWS AGENCY" Beijing dispatch 6 July 1984)

2. The Chinese communists' "Henan Provincial Military District" has set up more than 80 centers for training militia and reserve soldiers with specialized skills. In each center are specialized training bases for field artillery, antiaircraft artillery, signal communications, chemical defense, and engineering. (29) (Chinese communists "Central Radio Station," broadcast 15 March 1986)



#### D. Training Reserve Units

For training reserve units, the Chinese communists have adopted the mode of concentrated training in the same profession and same service arm. Besides being given preliminary training and repeated training, reserve personnel with specialized skills are given focused training, in order to improve the military quality of the militia and the reserve. The training modes are:

##### 1. Training Linked With Regular Units

Adopting the principle of "being on-site, making close connections, and matching specialties to jobs," training is linked to the regular units stationed in the area, and military drills in various topics are carried out. The main objects of training are cadres of reserve divisions and regiments and military command cadres and backbone elements in specialized skills at the battalion level and below. The training mode is for the units stationed in the area to send instructors to the reserve units to guide training, or to send personnel and military personnel with specialized skills to the units stationed in the area for military training and drills. The training topics include live-ammunition drills, specialized skills, and wartime mobilization. (30) (LAD 9 April 1986)

##### 2. Training by Stages and in Groups

For the reserve units that have been formed and for reserve cadres of land and sea border defense units, the method of training by stages and in groups has been adopted. There are two periods in the training time, and each period is 3 to 6 months. In the first period there are beginning training and repeated training, and the training content includes individual training and specialized skills training; in the second period, there are training activities in various topics of campaigns and tactics. (31) (Chinese communists' ZHANQI BAO 20 March 1986)

#### E. Military Training of Students

In 1955, the first "military service law" issued by the Chinese communists made the stipulation that "institutions of higher learning and senior middle schools should be provided with military instructors to give students military training." However, because of the effect of a power struggle within the Chinese communists this stipulation could not be effectively implemented.

To coordinate with the communist army's "streamlining and reorganization" and restore the reserve system, on 31 May 1984 the Chinese communists' Second Session of the Sixth "NPC" passed the "New Military Service Law," which once again put the military training of students in a special section. It was stipulated that students of institutions of higher learning, senior middle schools, and schools equivalent to senior middle schools, must during their period of schooling receive basic military training; and that, based on national defense needs, students suited to become officers would take a further short period of concentrated training and, after passing an examination and with the approval of military organizations, serve in the officer reserve. (32) ("XINHUA NEWS AGENCY" Beijing dispatch 4 June 1984) On

25 May 1985, the Chinese communists's "Ministry of Education" and the communist army's "General Staff Department" and "General Political Department" held in Peiping a "national work conference on student training experimental points." The conference studied and drew up the content of the training course and selected the key schools in various areas that would take part in military training experiments. It also decided that in September 1985 military training for students would begin in 52 institutions of higher learning and 102 senior middle schools and schools equivalent to senior middle schools on the mainland. The key points and content of this military training are as follows:

1. Institutions of higher learning: First, there is primary basic military training, the content of which includes basic military knowledge, basic military thought, modern military science, military techniques, tactical skills, light weapons firing, principles of company and platoon tactics, and wartime mobilization. After completing basic training, based on national defense needs, students suited to become reserve or active duty officers receive a short period of training and those who qualify by examination in the training are given reserve officer posts.

2. Senior middle schools: Students are given training in the basic military knowledge of enlisted men and in general military skills. The content includes: the armed forces' three major regulations for discipline, routine service, and formations; use of light weapons; individual and tactical movements; first aid for battle wounds; and air defense knowledge. (33) (LAD 28 May 1985)

#### V. Difficult Problems Encountered in the Formation of Reserve Units

The purpose of the Chinese communists in forming reserve units was to strengthen the building of their reserve force so as to respond to the needs of a future war. However, since their formation some problems in ideas and practice have been encountered that have adversely affected the promotion of the building of the reserve. Following is an analysis of this situation:

##### A. Unclear Understanding of the Idea of Forming a Reserve

When the Chinese communists were registering reserve personnel and forming reserve units in order to put the militia-reserve system into practice, some reserve personnel lacked a correct understanding of registering for the reserve and serving in the reserve. A confusion in ideas and a deviation in ideology were produced, in which they thought that "if one must be a soldier then one should be in the regular army, and there is really no meaning in being in the reserve." Therefore, they were uninterested in the reserve, and ignored the registration of reserve personnel and the organization of reserve units. Some ex-servicemen and demobilized army men were cadres in the period of their active service in the communist army's units, and after being discharged were very unwilling to go through the procedure of registering as reserve personnel and serving in the reserve, maintaining that "my life as a true armyman has passed, and there is no need for me to serve in the reserve." (34) (ZHONGGUO MINBING ZAZHI March 1986)

The main reason that some reserve personnel ignored going through the procedure of registering as reserve personnel and serving in the reserve is that they are not clear about the purpose of continuing to serve in the reserve, maintaining that "after serving in the regular units for several years I have fulfilled my obligation. I have just been discharged and have returned home. Why must I serve in the reserve?" (35) (ZHONGGUO MINBING ZAZHI November 1984)

In addition, when some schools give military training to their students, there exists among most students a confusion of understanding. They think: "The main thing for a student is to attend a university. After study, he will take the examination for graduate students and become a technician or engineer. What use is there in learning about military affairs? Learning about military affairs is a matter for the armed forces, the people's armed police, and the militia. What connection does this have with a student? Learning about military affairs is nothing more than a matter of standing rigidly to attention, then standing at ease, and counting off one, two, one. Who doesn't know how to walk?" (36) (ZHONGGUO MINBING ZAZHI December 1984)

#### B. Reshuffling of Reserve Personnel Makes It Difficult To Call Them Up

Because after reserve personnel are organized into units they need to return to their production and work units, and also because some reserve personnel are frequently transferred, the personnel become scattered. For example, since the formation of a certain reserve units, the transfer rate of reserve personnel has been 60 percent of the total number and the transfer rate of reserve cadres has been 14.8 percent of the total, and the number of transfers is constantly increasing. Therefore, a serious inadequacy in the work of calling up reserve personnel has been produced. (37) (ZHONGGUO MINBING ZAZHI January 1985)

Among the reserve personnel registered by some units, there are those whose behavior is bad, whose health is poor, whose family burdens are heavy, and who have difficulty in taking part in reserve activities. These persons listed as reserve personnel can only be on the rolls and tables, and it is impossible that they "will come when called, and be drawn in and pulled out." (38) Ibid (37).

Some units have not adequately completed the integration of "the links between the higher and lower levels, and the links between the army and the locality," and the relationship of direct guidance by reserve divisions and regiments of the reserve fendui of local basic-level unit is insufficiently clear. Thus, in the work in ordinary times, often channels are blocked and relationships are not clear; and between the higher and the lower levels, between the army and the locality there is no dovetailing and there is a lack of coordination. (39) (ZHONGGUO MINBING ZAZHI April 1986)

Some units have created the following difficulties in the callup of the reserve: 1) On the excuse of being busy with production, some units are unwilling to release people to take part in reserve personnel activities. 2) Some reserve personnel are away on business for a long time, or because they are transferred to work at another place they are unable to give timely

notification. 3) In peacetime, if reserve personnel want to leave their production units, they need to go through complex procedures. When waiting to receive the comrades who have been called up, each "people's armed forces department" must first ask for instructions and submit reports to the responsible cadres of factories. After getting agreement for the callup, it must consult with the various workshops. Then it must go through the procedure to get people released and notify every unit separately, and also must "study," "discuss," and "consider," all of which adversely affects and delays the callup time and the work progress. (40) (ZHONGGUO MINBING ZAZHI May 1985)

#### C. Focusing on Production Work Causes a Lack of Enthusiasm for Training Activities

Because, after an individual joins a reserve unit, besides having to be responsible for his own job, he must take part in various military and political training activities, during the training he expends a lot of time and effort, and a burden is imposed on the individual and his family. Therefore, most reserve personnel are unenthusiastic about training activities, causing a great adverse effect on training work. (41) Ibid (34).

In some areas, because after the permission to transfer the possession of contracted land was granted the number of personnel going out of the areas greatly increased, as high as more than half; among them there has been a correspondingly large number of militia and reserve personnel. Since enterprise units have put into practice various forms of overproduction awards, when reserve personnel take part in training activities their overproduction bonuses are reduced, so they take an attitude of resistance toward training work. In some units, because the greater part of reserve personnel have been put into production work, in order to reduce training activities they have adopted the "arbitrary uniformity" method of unified establishment and unified training patterns, which are unsuitable to the complex situations in future operations.

### VI. Conclusion

A. The main intention of the Chinese communists in restoring the system of "integrating the militia with the reserve" and forming reserve units in succession in various places on the mainland was, on the one hand, to respond to the communist army's streamlining and reorganization and to the needs in wartime for the replenishment and expansion of units. By incorporating the militia and the reserve in the establishment, they become a reserve force that has organizations and equipment and that has undergone military training. Once war breaks out, with the communist army as the backbone and the militia and the reserve as the foundation, reserve units can be rapidly formed, thus establishing a "perfected rapid mobilization system." On the other hand, it reduces their outlay in national defense expenditure, strengthens the building of the reserve force, and puts into effect the idea of "storing soldiers among the people" in order to attain the objective of "maintaining fewer troops in peacetime and dispatching more troops in wartime," thereby saving on outlays of manpower and financial resources and alleviating the economic plight they are facing.

B. In May 1984, a provision of the Chinese communists' Second Session of the Sixth "NPC" decided on the system of "integrating the militia with the reserve," but still listed the militia as one of the "three big armed forces." It retained the so-called traditional militia organization system, and also restored the reserve system, making the two work in concert. The Chinese communists stipulated that the "regional units of the militia organizations and the stipulated reserve personnel" would be grouped into the militia organizations to serve in the reserve. At the same time they called on "all areas to organize reserve personnel into groups through the militia organization, so that they became organized reserve units." Therefore, the abovementioned situation shows that the Chinese communists have changed their original reserve force in which the militia was primary to a reserve force in which the reserve units are primary, with the expectation of gradually achieving "a change in quality and a rise in quality." During a future war, the militia that have not been put into reserve units will only have the mission of regional public security, joint defense, and support of public projects, while the organized reserve units will coordinate with the communist army in conducting military operations.

C. Now, when the Chinese communists have formed reserve units and the reserve personnel are engaging in various training activities, they have discovered that among some reserve personnel there are ideological deviations about serving in the reserve. These reserve personnel think that "if one must be a soldier then one should be in the regular army, and there is really no significance in reserve duty," and "my life as a true armyman has passed, and it is not necessary that I serve in the reserve." Most reserve personnel are uninterested in reserve's military and political training work, and often, on the pretext of being busy in production, say they are unable to take part in training activities and are unwilling to do so. This disharmonious understanding will seriously affect the Chinese communists' formation of reserve units and the development of training work.

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